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ART. I. — *The Poets and Poetry of America; with a Historical Introduction.* By RUFUS W. GRISWOLD. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. xxvi. and 476.

THIS large and well-printed volume has been domesticated on our table for a long time, and although not publicly noticed, has not been forgotten. A review of it has held, for many months, a prominent place among our deferred projects and virtuous intentions. The book, however, has not thought proper to await our judgment before it commenced its tour of the country, but has quietly travelled through many States and four editions, and now returns our glance with all the careless impertinence inspired by success. That fickle-minded monster, called "the reading public," which sometimes buys and praises before it receives its cue from the reviewer, has taken the work under its own patronage, and spread before it the broad shield of its favor, as a protection against the critical knife. We hope, nevertheless, to be able to give it a sly thrust, here and there, in places where it is still vulnerable.

Mr. Griswold has prefixed to his book an eloquent, hopeful, and extenuating preface. This is followed by a lively and learned historical introduction, displaying much research, devoted to a consideration of the defects and meagreness of American poetry during the Colonial period. He has disturbed the dust which had mercifully gathered around antiquated doggerel and venerable bathos, with no reverential fingers;

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and his good taste has not been choked or blinded by the cloud he has raised. The common fault of antiquaries, that of deeming puerility and meanness invaluable because they happen to be scarce and old, and of attempting to link some deep meaning to what is simply bombast, affectation, or nonsense, he has avoided with commendable diligence. He makes no demand on our charity, in favor of some poet-aster, for whom he may have imbibed a strange affection. He does not estimate the value of his antiquarian spoils by the labor and money expended in their acquisition. He has emerged from his resurrectionist delvings in the grave-yards of rhyme, without confounding moral distinctions, vitiating his taste, or becoming imbued with any malevolent designs against good composition or public patience.

The series of selections and biographies begins with Freneau, and ends with the Davidsons. Between these, Mr. Griswold has contrived to press into the nominal service of the Muses no less than eighty-eight persons, all of whom, it can be proved by indisputable evidence, did, at various periods, and inspired by different motives, exhibit their ideas, or their lack of ideas, in a metrical form. The editor is well aware, that a strict definition of poetry would shut out many whom he has admitted. Much of the verse in his collection is not "the creation of new beauty, the manifestation of the real by the ideal, in 'words that move in metrical array.'" It is rather commonplace, jingling its bells at certain fixed pauses in its smooth or rugged march. To versify sermons is not to create beauty; nor can good morality be taken in apology for bad poetry. A morbid and uneasy sensibility may give a certain swell and grandness to diction without the aid of imagination. A young gentleman, while groaning beneath some fancied woes, may ask for public commiseration in the husky utterance of grating rhyme, and yet display no depth and intensity of feeling. We think, therefore, that Mr. Griswold has "been too liberal of his aqueous mixture" in his selections. Some of the authors whom he has included in the list are unworthy of the honor of having their feebleness thrust into notice. From others of more pretensions he has copied too unsparingly. A few of his critical notices reflect more credit upon his benevolence than his taste. He seems to have fixed the price of admittance low, in order, as the show-bills say, that the public might be more generally ac-

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commodated. King James the First debased the ancient order of knighthood, by laying his sword on the shoulder of every pander or buffoon who recommended himself by the fulness of his purse, the readiness of his jests, or the pliancy of his conscience. Editors should keep this fact in mind, and extract from it the warning and admonition it is so eminently calculated to suggest.

Although we deem Mr. Griswold deserving of a little gentle correction for his literary beneficence, we are not insensible to his merits. The work before us must have demanded the labor of years. Those portions which are intrinsically the least valuable undoubtedly cost the editor the most toil, and afforded him the least gratification. To hunt out mediocrity and feebleness, and append correct dates to their forgotten effusions, is an exercise of philanthropy which is likely to be little appreciated; and yet, in many instances, it was necessary, in order to give a fair reflection of the poetical spirit of the country and the time. In the editor's wanderings in some of the secluded lanes of letters, he has rescued from oblivion many poems of considerable value. He has been compelled to search for most of his facts in places only accessible by great exertion and perseverance. Many of the poets from whom he has made selections have never published editions of their writings, and had never before been honored with biographies. He might easily have written better poems than some which he must have expended much time and labor in obtaining. The vanities and jealousies of his band of authors he was compelled to take into consideration, and to forbear giving them unnecessary offence. Among all the fierce enmities which a person may provoke by sincerely expressing his opinions, we know of none more dangerous than that which follows from informing a rhyming scribbler, that his fame will not equal his ambition, or from omitting to notice him at all out of commiseration for his well-meaning stupidities. We think, therefore, that Mr. Griswold has succeeded as well in his book, as the nature of the case admitted; that his patient research and general correctness of taste are worthy of praise; that his difficulties and temptations would have extenuated far graver errors than he has committed; and that his volume well deserves the approbation it has received.

The labor of editing this book may be inferred from the num-

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ber of writers quoted, exclusive of those who flourished and scribbled previously to the Revolution. There are eighty-eight names on the list,* all of them being introduced by biographical and critical notices. There are about sixty other writers mentioned in the Appendix, who are not equally honored, and whose names we have no room, even in a note, to mention. The editor has thus made extracts from the writings of nearly one hundred and fifty persons, very few of whom have been poets or prose-writers by profession. These selections extend over a period of sixty years, but most of them are comprehended within the last twenty.

We have not been able to find a list of English poets and dramatists, from Chaucer to Anstey, which contains more than two hundred and twenty names. This includes many whose very names are unknown to the general reader, and many who have not written so well as the worst of our own rhymers. It extends over four centuries. It contains such names as Gower, Lydgate, Edwards, Gascoigne, Greene, Watson, Lyly, Constable, (1568,) Breton, Nash, Quarles, Nabbes, Catharine Phillips, Jasper Mayne, Hooke, Cotton, (1630,) Flatman, Etherege, Shadwell, Stepney, Lillo, Savage, Watts, Welsted, Carey, Shaw, Ferguson, as well as the eminent poets of each period. Indeed, the editors of selections from the English poets, even those who commence with Chaucer and include the great bards of the present cen-

* The list is as follows: Philip Freneau, (born in 1752,) John Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, Richard Alsop, St. John Honeywood, William Cliffton, Robert Treat Paine, Washington Allston, James Kirke Paulding, Levi Frisbie, John Pierpont, Andrews Norton, Richard H. Dana, Richard H. Wilde, James A. Hillhouse, Charles Sprague, Hannah F. Gould, Carlos Wilcox, Henry Ware, Jr., William C. Bryant, John Neal, Joseph Rodman Drake, Maria Brooks, James G. Percival, Fitz-Greene Halleck, John G. C. Brainard, S. G. Goodrich, Isaac Clason, Lydia H. Sigourney, George W. Doane, William B. O. Peabody, Robert C. Sands, Grenville Mellen, George Hill, James G. Brooks, Albert G. Greene, William Leggett, Edward C. Pinkney, R. W. Emerson, S. L. Fairfield, Rufus Dawes, E. D. Griffin, J. H. Bright, George D. Prentice, William Croswell, Walter Colton, Charles F. Hoffman, Mrs. Seba Smith, N. P. Willis, Edward Sanford, J. O. Rockwell, Thomas Ward, John H. Bryant, H. W. Longfellow, William G. Simms, George Lunt, Jonathan Lawrence, Elizabeth Hall, Emma C. Embury, John G. Whittier, Oliver W. Holmes, Albert Pike, Park Benjamin, Willis G. Clark, William D. Gallagher, James F. Clarke, Elizabeth F. Ellett, James Aldrich, Anna P. Dinnies, Edgar A. Poe, Isaac McLellan, Jr., Jones Very, A. B. Street, W. H. Burleigh, W. J. Pabodie, Louis L. Noble, C. P. Cranch, Henry T. Tuckerman, Epes Sargent, Lucy Hooper, Arthur C. Coxe, James R. Lowell, Amelia B. Welby, Lucretia and Margaret Davidson.

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tury, have not thought proper to admit so many names as are included in Mr. Griswold's collection; and at the same time, they have selected many pieces which would confer no additional reputation upon Bryant, Longfellow, Willis, Dana, Halleck, Sprague, Percival, or Drake; and many also which American poets, of less pretensions, have excelled. Pinkney has written as well, to say the least, as many of the "mob of gentlemen," who were the boast of the times of Charles the First, and Charles the Second; as well as Lovelace and Carew, and better than Waller, Sedley, Etherege, and Dorset. There are few songs, if we except those of Burns and Moore, which have more lyric flow and hearty sentiment than the best of Hoffman's. Tom Warton has not written better sonnets than some of Benjamin's. Gallagher and Street have a finer feeling for the beauties and sublimities of natural scenery, and more felicity in giving it expression, than a large number of English descriptive poets of the second class. Sargent has written of the sea with more freshness and graphic power, with more true fancy and poetic feeling, than Falconer, or many others of a higher reputation. A richness of diction, a warmth of imagination, and a tenderness of sentiment distinguish many of the occasional compositions of Tuckerman, and especially his "Spirit of Poetry," which are not often found in the poetical contributions to many of those English periodicals, in which Transatlantic verse is rarely mentioned without ridicule or affected contempt.

We have no desire to exalt American poetry above its merits. We are sensible of its deficiencies, as compared with the great creations of English genius. We know, that much, which circulates in the United States in the shape of rhyme, is nothing more than rhyme. But it appears to us quite absurd, that in a country whose literature is stained with so many metrical productions offensive to good taste and good morals, — a country which has had its Tom D'Urfeys, Aphra Behns, Shadwells, Settles, and Wolcotts, as well as its Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, and Wordsworth, — a country whose miscellaneous and magazine verse is, at the present time, inferior to our own, — there should be so much willingness to express pity or contempt for the poetry of the United States. But it is one of the amiable peculiarities of John Bull to forget all his own past or present sins, in his zeal against the peccadilloes of his neighbours.

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All countries peopled by civilized men must have many minor poets, who, with a moderate share of the poetical faculty, have considerable poetical feeling. Their compositions may not deserve much eulogium ; they may merely remodel old images and repeat old forms of expression ; they may rather reproduce than create ; but their poetry often displays smooth versification, pure sentiment, and occasionally a happy thought. Almost all men "experience" poetry during some period of their lives ; and it is often the case, that, in a moment of happy inspiration, a man of very inferior abilities may write a short poem excelling some of the efforts of men of the highest genius. We might select from Mr. Griswold's collection many pieces which are better than some few poems included in editions of Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, and Scott. In the United States, there is a great number of such persons as we have indicated. The ease with which a moderate skill in versification is acquired, and the copious flood of poetic expressions which is poured into the mind of every school-boy, enable most men of taste and feeling to write what is called respectable poetry with great facility. Much rhyme is here produced by persons who have no direct connexion with literature, and who set forth no claims to be admitted into the glorious company of creative minds. If their good-natured friends would only let them alone, they would never discover that they were more gifted than their neighbours. The danger is, that they will be too much elated by flattery, and at last seriously entertain the conceit, that they are great poets, who reflect honor upon the literature of their country. As every man has some friend connected with a newspaper or magazine, this danger is not so groundless as one may at first imagine.

The fact cannot fail to strike the least observant spectator, that most of our distinguished authors are engaged in pursuits generally considered unfavorable to the efforts of genius. Sprague and Halleck obtain their livelihood by their pens, it is true ; but not in any poetical sense of the phrase. The least lucrative profession in the United States is that of authorship. Every prudent man avoids it as he does a pestilence. A writer who attempts to live on the manufactures of his imagination, is continually coquetting with starvation. He spends his days in illustrating the ingenious theories of certain physiologists, who have tried to ascertain how little food will suf-

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fice for a man's stomach, and how little raiment for his back. Genius may be almost defined, as the faculty of acquiring poverty. Professional authors have ever been rudely bruised and battered by fortune. When so thin that they could not "sport a shadow i' the sun," a bailiff has generally served in its place. Garrets and cellars have been at once their homes and hiding-places. In their case, mendicity often trails mendacity along with it. Famine hollows their cheeks; disease lackeys their steps. Every proud worldling hisses out his scoff, and every ass lifts his hoof against them. They drink deep, not only of the Pierian spring, but of that fountain of self-contempt, which is "bitterer to drink than blood." They die, at last, some by their own hands, some by insanity, some of famine, some of absolute weariness, and some of "helpless, hopeless brokenness of heart," —

> "Hiding from many a careless eye
> The scornèd load of agony."

We must confess that such dark and petulant fancies as these always flit through our minds, when we hear the constantly repeated regret, that a favorite author has not made literature his profession. The reasons why he has not done so are plain. He has common, as well as uncommon, sense; he deems pain and starvation evils which should be avoided; he thinks a good home and the certainty of a dinner better than a garret and heaven-soaring imaginations. Such men as Sprague and Halleck have displayed as much wisdom in their conduct as genius in their writings. They early discovered, what a little reflection would teach anybody, that professional authorship and worldly comfort are like parallel lines, — they never meet. They certainly would not have written so well, had their muse been stimulated to exertion by hunger, or their fine faculties been let out to some "enterprising" bookseller, and forced into whatever channels of quackery and deceit the demands of "the trade" required. Professional authors are apt either to sneer at a banker or merchant who obtains applause for transient literary offerings, or to attempt to lure him by lying idealities into their own Slough of Despond. There is hardly a hack in Great Britain who has not, either in penny newspaper or sentimental magazine, directed his pop-gun of wit against Samuel Rogers, the banker and

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poet. Men who get a living, or an epitaph, by the pursuits of literature, seem to think that no person has a right to be clever who is not something of a vagabond. We cannot admit that they are at all competent to decide the question, whether commerce or banking be inimical to poetry. Bank-notes, it is to be regretted, visit their pockets too rarely to make them any thing but dogmatists in deciding on their poetical or prosaic nature.

Charles Sprague, one of the best poets in Mr. Griswold's multitudinous collection, has always been engaged in pursuits connected with commerce, and his poems are therefore the rich products of his leisure. His poetical compositions are naturally divided into two classes: those written for special occasions, and in some degree manufactured to order; and those which commemorate events in his domestic life, and which accordingly have more of the heart's spontaneous music. Although those of the first class display to greater advantage his skill in versification, and the extent of his intellectual resources, they are not so instinct with the poetical spirit as his less ambitious efforts. His prologues are the best which have been written since the time of Pope. His "Shakspeare Ode" has hardly been exceeded by anything in the same manner, since Gray's "Progress of Poetry." But the true power and originality of the man are manifested in his domestic pieces. "The Brothers," "I see Thee still," and the "Family Meeting," are the finest consecrations of natural affection in our literature. The pathos of Bryant is so deeply tinged with the spirit of meditation, that it is rather the philosophy of grief than its direct expression. His regrets flow through his reason and imagination, but those of Sprague seem to gush directly from the heart. There is a purity, a sweetness, a true home-like feeling in the little domestic pieces of the latter, to which none but a fribble or a *roué* can be insensible. They can be read again and again with a delight which is ever renewed. The true soul of human affection is in them, and "waxes not old." A composition which dazzles at first sight by gaudy epithets, or brilliant turns of expression, or glittering trains of imagery, may fade gradually from the mind, and leave no enduring impression; but words which flow fresh and warm from a full heart, and which are instinct with the life and breath of human feeling, pass into household memo-

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ries, and partake of the immortality of the affections from which they spring. The spiritual tone, also, of these beautiful embodiments of sensibility is exquisitely fine and touching.

The tone of a poem is, after all, its most enduring excellence. Images, metaphors, subtle and delicate phrases, may glide away from the mind, and yet the soul by which they were animated may remain. There is much confusion produced in criticism by not discriminating between the form and the essence of poetry. In "Childe Harold," there is probably displayed more of the radiant vesture of the imagination than in any poem of the present age; yet the tone of one half of that splendid apotheosis of misanthropy and egotism is unpoetical. Its effect is merely to stir and to sting. It leaves an impression in the memory which may be called almost disagreeable. We feel that the author's spiritual life was inharmonious, that the tone of his mind was not pure. On the other hand, in many of Wordsworth's early compositions, where the versification is harsh or slovenly, and the diction mean and meagre, the tone is often fine and poetical. The "white radiance" of the soul shines through the most homely verbal expression. To attempt to analyze the tone of a poem would be useless. It is an object of inward perception. It is

> "The viewless spirit of a lovely sound,
> A living voice, a breathing harmony,
> A bodiless enjoyment."

It may be compared to the murmur of a brook as heard in a dream. When good, it is the very music of a soul which contains no jarring string.

The tone of Sprague's domestic poems is, as we have already stated, very pure and harmonious. The swelling diction, the wide command of language and imagery, the artistic skill, the deliberate and elaborated frenzy of his long odes, will hardly bear comparison, in point of true poetic excellence, with his quiet pictures of fireside joys and sorrows. The latter illustrate the truth, that gentleness is power. There is more real strength in them than in all the clang and clatter which words can be easily made to produce, when employed by a cunning rhetorician. We extract the little poem of "The Brothers," in illustration of our meaning. No dominion over the mere shows of poetical expression

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could enable a man, without a full heart, to write any thing equal to it.

"We are but two, — the others sleep
Through death's untroubled night:
We are but two, — oh! let us keep
The link that binds us bright.

"Heart leaps to heart, — the sacred flood
That warms us is the same;
That good old man — his honest blood
Alike we fondly claim.

"We in one mother's arms were lock'd, —
Long be her love repaid;
In the same cradle we were rock'd,
Round the same hearth we played.

"Our boyish sports were all the same,
Each little joy and woe;
Let manhood keep alive the flame
Lit up so long ago.

"We are but two, — be that the band
To hold us till we die;
Shoulder to shoulder let us stand,
Till side by side we lie."

In the lines on the death of M. S. C., there is much mournful beauty and tenderness.

"I knew that we must part, — day after day
I saw the dread destroyer win his way;
Feeble and slow thy once light footstep grew,
Thy wasting cheek put on Death's pallid hue,
Thy thin, hot hand to mine more weakly clung,
Each sweet 'Good night' fell fainter from thy tongue.

* * * * *

Then like tired breezes did'st thou sink to rest,
Nor one, one pang the awful change confess'd.
Death stole in softness o'er that lovely face,
And touched each feature with a new-born grace;
On cheek and brow unearthly beauty lay,
And told that life's poor cares had passed away!
In my last hour be Heaven so kind to me!
I ask no more but this, — to die like thee!

We cannot resist the desire to make two more extracts from this little collection of pieces.

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"I see thee still!
Remembrance, faithful to her trust,
Calls thee in beauty from the dust;
Thou comest in the morning light,
Thou 'rt with me through the gloomy night;
In dreams I meet thee as of old:
Then thy soft arms my neck enfold,
And thy sweet voice is in my ear;
In every scene to memory dear
I see thee still!

* * * * *

"We 're not all here!
Some are away, — the dead ones dear,
Who throng'd with us this ancient hearth
And gave the hour to guileless mirth.
Fate, with a stern, relentless hand,
Look'd in and thinned our little band:
Some like a night-flash pass'd away,
And some sank lingering, day by day.
The quiet graveyard — some lie there,
And cruel ocean has his share.
We 're not all here!"

Mr. Griswold tells the story of a compliment paid to Sprague, which is worthy of note. A British officer discovered the poem of "Curiosity" straying about, orphan-like, in Calcutta, and in the absence of its father adopted it as his own child, and gave it the first place among the progeny of his brain. After circulating widely in the East Indies as an English production, it was reprinted in London, and received the critical honors of the British press. The poem itself is deservedly popular, and Mr. Griswold has displayed good taste in printing the whole of it among his selections. The general harmony of its numbers, its agreeable alternations of sentiment and satire, its numerous pictures of life, character, and manners, its vigorous thought and brilliant wit, and the excellent spirit which animates it throughout, are qualities which please universally. There is much honest and hearty indignation in the production, directed against the follies and crimes of society. But Sprague is hardly a satirist in any proper sense of the word. He lashes artifice and quackery with great force, it is true; but in doing it, he rather expresses the natural contempt and dislike of a clear-headed, right-hearted man for silliness and

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sin, than the labored invective of a didactic denouncer of mankind, edging rebuke with a venomous sneer, and more solicitous of antithesis than truth. He never dips his pen in scorn's "fiery poison." The spirit of beauty and genial humor seems to accompany and direct the sarcasm, whenever it is launched at the lighter branches of the fooleries and errors of the day, and it rarely becomes deep and uncompromising, except when it is shot at brazen infamy or brainless pretension. No one can read "Curiosity" without perceiving that its author has a most exact sense of moral distinctions, as well as a fine perception of the ridiculous. The moral character unconsciously impressed on the poem would do honor to Channing.

Reference has already been made to Sprague's odes as productions displaying much forcible thought, metrical skill, and splendor of expression. But they have a mightier effect upon the ear than the heart. The life of the man does not circle through them with such intensity as in his less ornate and less mechanical poems. At times there is manifested, in the choice of the language and the movement of the verse, a disposition on the part of the author to lash his muse into exertion. Here and there, a tasteless or turgid epithet indicates, that not always was he successful in "wreaking" his thoughts upon expression. No criticism, however, could justly represent them as any other than remarkable productions. A short extract from "The Centennial Ode" will serve as a specimen of his power in condensing thought and emotion into the smallest possible compass, without allowing them to run into obscurity.

"We call them savage, — oh! be just!
Their outraged feelings scan:
A voice comes forth, 't is from the dust, —
The savage was a man!

"Think ye he loved not? Who stood by,
And in his toils took part?
Woman was there to bless his eye!
The savage had a heart!
Think ye he prayed not? When on high
He heard the thunders roll,
What bade him look beyond the sky?
The savage had a soul!

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"I venerate the Pilgrim's cause,
Yet for the red man dare to plead,
We bow to Heaven's recorded laws,
He turned to Nature for a creed;
Beneath the pillared dome
We seek our God in prayer;
Through boundless woods he loved to roam,
And the Great Spirit worshipped there."

From the writings of Richard Henry Dana, Mr. Griswold has made copious extracts. Mr. Dana is, perhaps, our most original poet. No American productions, with which we are acquainted, are characterized by such intense subjectiveness, or bear so deep an impress of individuality, as those of the author of "The Buccaneer." We feel, in reading them, that the inward life of the man has found utterance in the rugged music of the poet. He seems never to have written from hearsay, or taken any of his opinions at second-hand. Perhaps this is to be attributed, in a great degree, to his habits of retirement. In this bustling and utilitarian age, when even poets become involved in politics and commercial speculations, and literally make a noise in the world, we do not often hear of a writer who keeps the even tenor of his way amid the surrounding fret and tumult, undisturbed by the petty vanities and humble aims of active existence. Very few now follow the example of Isaac of old, and go out into the fields to meditate. The old law of composition is reversed. Men do not appear to write because they cannot help it, but to lash and goad their unwilling minds into expression by extraneous means. The morals and aspirations of Grub Street have worked their way into Paternoster Row. A low standard of excellence is established. Immortality is confidently predicted of very humble labors. Choice bits and morsels of thought and imagery, floating on the smooth stream of octosyllabic or seven-syllabled verse, are considered infallible signs of creative genius. Many "immortal" reputations die every year. A spirit of dapper intellectual dandyism, of which elegant verbiage and a dainty and debilitating spiritualism are the outward shows and covering, infects too much of the popular verse. Vanity and avarice are the moving principles of much which should spring directly from sentiment or imagination. Authors of the second rank may now be divided into two distinct classes. The one strives to win the ear of the polite and refined at any sacrifice of heartiness and

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truth, and is prodigal of elegant imbecilities and insipid refinements; whilst the other pampers the taste of the vulgar with recitals of misery and crime, exhibits all the forms of melodramatic agony, and fills the page with the records of the hospital and the jail. Both classes are equally distant from nature and truth. No author ever acquired durable fame by his loyalty to merely conventional decencies and refinements, or by outrages upon taste and morals. Milton said, that no man could write epics who did not live epics. Since his time, Glover and Cottle have illustrated his remark in "Leonidas" and "Alfred." But this principle does not hold good in regard to the other forms of poetry; for men contrive to write lyrics, while they live economics.

Mr. Dana belongs to a very different class of authors from those whom we have just described. "Neediness, greediness, and vain-glory" have never been the sources of his inspiration. He has engaged in none of those enterprises, which give a day's fame to ambitious mediocrity and aspiring weakness. His reputation among men of taste is the result of no puffing, and is not confined to sects or *cliques*. The excellence of his writings is the measure of their fame. The shams and mockeries of eulogistic criticism have not placed his reputation on the ricketty basis of notoriety. It may be doubted, if any American poet has led a more ideal existence, or succeeded better in making his life a poem. His compositions are thoughtful, vigorous, fresh, and original. They are held in just estimation by his countrymen, although not of that kind which attracts a large audience, and is likely to be immediately appreciated. Mr. Dana's reputation has been of slow growth, but it has constantly increased with age. In making his poems of durable value, he neglected the usual tricks of expression, by which transient popularity is often won.

The mental powers displayed in his writings are of a high order. He possesses all the qualities which distinguish the poet, — acute observation of nature, a deep feeling of beauty, a suggestive and shaping imagination, a strong and keen, though not dominant, sensibility, and a perfect command of expression. In description, he excels, perhaps, all his American contemporaries. Many of his stanzas are pictures, painted with few words. He is successful, also, in mingling thought and sentiment with description, and in evolving the spiritual meaning which underlies natural objects, with-

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out misrepresenting nature. He gives the sensible image with so much clearness and compression, that it becomes immediately apparent to the eye; and the language in which he pictures it forth is instinct with imagination, even when he superadds no direct sentiment or analogy. The fault in much fine descriptive poetry is in the accommodation of the appearance, which an object presents to the eye, to the ideas which it suggests to the mind. The fancy seizes upon the material form and moulds it into new shapes, until the original and distinctive features are lost. There are some poets, who, although their perceptive faculties are not deficient in acuteness, are unable to see things as they really exist. Every object that passes into their consciousness from without undergoes a change. The powers of vision are unable to hold the sensible image in its exact shape and hue, and it is soon delivered over to passion, wit, or fancy, often to be moulded into grotesque and whimsical forms. The immaterialists and pantheists of poetry, looking at nature only for analogies, and denying her absolute existence, are apt to be too free with her forms and colors. But Dana, though intensely subjective and individual in the character of his genius, and strongly influenced by his mental habits and peculiarities in his appreciation of natural scenery, rarely fails to convey correct representations of outward realities, even when he links a sentiment to them which minds differently constituted would deem unnatural. In him we never find "subjectivity leading objectivity in chains," as Hallam quaintly says of Malebranche. A few stanzas, taken at random from "The Buccaneer," will prove that exact description and high imagination are capable of being united.

"But when the light winds lie at rest,
And on the glassy, heaving sea,
The black duck, with her glossy breast,
Sits swinging silently,
How beautiful! no ripples break the reach,
And silvery waves go noiseless up the beach."

* * * * *

"'T is fearful, on the broad-backed waves,
To feel them shake and hear them roar;
Beneath, unsounded, dreadful caves;
Around, no cheerful shore.
Yet mid this solemn world what deeds are done!
The curse goes up, the deadly sea-fight 's won."

* * * * *

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"The ship works hard; the sea runs high;
Their white tops, flashing through the night,
Give to the eager straining eye
A wild and shifting light."

* * * * *

"On pale, dead men, on burning cheek,
On quick, fierce eyes, brows hot and damp,
On hands that with the warm blood reek,
Shines the dim cabin lamp."

* * * * *

"A low, sweet voice, in starry nights,
Chants to his ear a plaining song;
Its tones come *winding up the heights*,
Telling of woe and wrong."

* * * * *

"As swung the sea with heavy beat,
Below, and hear it break
With savage roar, then *pause and gather strength*,
And then, come tumbling in its swollen length."

Indeed, Dana's descriptions of nature are so graphic, that the objects are perceived as if by the bodily eye. In the delineation of character, also, he is often very successful. Mat Lee, the Buccaneer, is powerfully drawn. He is one of those ideal beings, who become existences as real to the mind, as any friend or enemy of whom we have had long experience. A few lines give him a place in the soul for ever.

"Twelve years are gone since Matthew Lee
Held in this isle unquestioned sway;
A dark, low, brawny man was he;
His law, — 'It is my way.'
Beneath his thick-set brows a sharp light broke
From small gray eyes; his laugh a triumph spoke.

"Cruel of heart and strong of arm,
Loud in his sport and keen for spoil,
He little recked of good or harm,
Fierce both in mirth and toil;
Yet like a dog could fawn, if need there were;
Speak mildly when he would, or look in fear.

"Amid the uproar of the storm,
And by the lightning's sharp red glare,
Were seen Lee's face and sturdy form;
His axe glanced quick in air."

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Dana's imagination is, perhaps, his greatest power. In the extracts we have made from "The Buccaneer," in illustration of other qualities, this faculty is prominent. Whether exercised in bodying forth abstract ideas, or in creating character, or in vivifying description, or in suggesting analogies, or in assisting to give that inexpressible tone to his compositions which analysis toils after in vain, — it seems equally predominant. In the selection of his language, likewise, no one can fail to discern the influence of this faculty. His words are always embodied ideas. He often makes a single epithet perform the office of a stanza. It would be impossiple to compress his style, for the short, sharp sentences are the perfection of brevity.

It would seem from his published works, that there is a dark vein of despondency in his nature, and it sometimes breaks out in morbid manifestations, in spite of the vigor of his intellect and the fineness of his affections. His compositions have more "hearse-like airs than carols." Keenly sensible to moral distinctions, he feels intensely the sin and wretchedness of the world, and throws too sombre a coloring over his reflections upon humanity. He gazes into the awful gulfs of iniquity, which make a hell of many perverted bosoms, with the eye of conscience and religion; and is apt to transfer to the race some of the associations which such a contemplation suggests. A tinge of melancholy, mild, delicious, and dream-like, as in the "Little Beach Bird," is sometimes thrown over his verse, and adds to its mystical charm; but when this deepens into gloom, we feel that it results from the inharmonious action of his mind. Even in the latter case, however, bursts of sunshine from his imagination will occasionally "streak the darkness radiantly." A poet whose sensibility to grandeur and sublimity is deep, and whose mind has a feeling for the vague and the supernatural, is ever liable to be oppressed by dark moods, unless he has a sharp perception of wit and humor to modify the sombre tendencies of his disposition. In Dana, this melancholy never degenerates into misanthropy, and is never employed to pamper a sublimed egotism, as in Byron. It is deeper, however, and more intense, than the mournfulness we occasionally find in Wordsworth, Bryant, and other meditative poets. It seems to have its "bed and procreant cradle" in habits of solitary thought and intense

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brooding over his own consciousness. It pervades his writings like an invisible spirit.

Mr. Griswold says finely of Bryant, that "he is the translator of the silent language of nature to the world." The serene beauty and thoughtful tenderness, which characterize his descriptions or rather interpretations of outward objects, are paralleled only in Wordsworth. His poems are almost perfect of their kind. The fruits of meditation, rather than of passion or imagination, and rarely startling with an unexpected image or sudden outbreak of feeling, they are admirable specimens of what may be called the philosophy of the soul. They address the finer instincts of our nature with a voice so winning and gentle, — they search out with such subtle power all in the heart which is true and good, — that their influence, though quiet, is resistless. They have consecrated to many minds things which before it was painful to contemplate. Who can say, that his feelings and fears respecting death have not received an insensible change, since reading the "Thanatopsis"? Indeed, we think that Bryant's poems are valuable not only for their intrinsic excellence, but for the vast influence their wide circulation is calculated to exercise on national feelings and manners. It is impossible to read them without being morally benefited. They purify as well as please. They develope or encourage all the elevated and thoughtful tendencies of the mind. In the jar and bustle of our American life, more favorable to quickness and acuteness of mind than to meditation, it is well that we have a poet who can bring the hues and odors of nature into the crowded mart, and, by ennobling thoughts of man and his destiny, induce the most worldly to give their eyes an occasional glance upward, and the most selfish to feel that the love of God and man is better than the love of Mammon. Metrical moralizing is generally offensive, from its triteness and pretension; but that of Bryant is so fresh and natural, mingles so unconsciously with his musings and imaginations, and bears so marked a character of truth and feeling, that even the most commonplace axiom receives a new importance when touched by the outpourings of his heart, and colored by his imagination. To make extracts from Bryant, in illustration of the qualities of his mind, would be almost an impertinence. His writings are too well known to need quotation of particular beauties.

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Mr. Griswold remarks of Percival, that "he has all the natural qualities of a great poet, but lacks the artistical skill, or declines the labor, without which few authors gain immortality. He has a brilliant imagination, remarkable command of language, and an exhaustless fountain of ideas. He writes with a facility but rarely equalled, and, when his thoughts are once committed to the page, he shrinks from the labor of revising, correcting, and condensing. He remarks, in one of his prefaces, that his verse is 'very far from bearing the marks of the file and the burnisher,' and that he likes to see 'poetry in the full ebullition of feeling and fancy, foaming up with the spirit of life, and glowing with the rainbows of a glad inspiration.'" To this *critique* it is necessary to add but little. The glow and sparkle of Percival's verse are often in the highest degree inspiring. The swell and sweep in his diction correspond with the turbulence and joy of soul from which much of his poetry seems to gush. The mind of the reader is hurried along the stream of his verse, and readily adopts his changing moods. "The Prevalence of Poetry," "Consumption," "Clouds," "Morning among the Hills," "Genius Slumbering," "Genius Waking," "The Sun," and "New England," are all excellent, and evince his artistical ability, and the range of his genius. We say artistical *ability*, because most of Percival's poems indicate greater capacity in the writer than is directly expressed. "New England" is a lyric known to every school-boy; and its warm patriotism and kindling energy have disturbed the mind of many a youth, while attempting to pierce into the heart of some tough problem in Euclid. "May" is a little poem of exceeding beauty and sweetness, reflecting the very season it describes.

"I feel a newer life in every gale,—
The winds that fan the flowers,
And with their welcome breathings fill the sail,
Tell of serener hours, —
Of hours that glide unfelt away
Beneath the sky of May.

"The spirit of the gentle south-wind calls
From his blue throne of air,
And, when his whispering voice in music falls,
Beauty is budding there;

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The bright ones of the valley break
Their slumbers, and awake.

"The waving verdure rolls along the plain,
And the wide forest weaves,
To welcome back its playful mates again,
A canopy of leaves.
And from the darkening shadow floats
A gush of trembling notes.

"Fairer and brighter spreads the reign of May;
The tresses of the woods
With the light dallying of the west-wind play;
And the full brimming floods,
As gladly to the goal they run,
Hail the returning sun."

In the "Prevalence of Poetry," we perceive the exuberance of Percival's mind displayed with fine effect. The fancy and sentiment of the piece seem to flow directly from the true inward sources of the ideal.

"The world is full of poetry — the air
Is living with its spirit; and the waves
Dance to the music of its melodies,
And sparkle in its brightness. Earth is veil'd
And mantled with its beauty; and the walls
That close the universe with crystal in
Are eloquent with voices, that proclaim
The unseen glories of immensity
In harmonies too perfect and too high
For aught but beings of celestial mould,
And speak to man, in one eternal hymn,
Unfading beauty and unyielding power."

He evinces a thorough knowledge of what poetry is *not*, while he pours out his heart in praise of what poetry *is*.

"'T is not the chime and flow of words, that move
In measured file and metrical array;
'T is not the union of returning sounds,
Nor all the pleasing artifice of rhyme,
And quantity, and accent, that can give
This all-pervading spirit to the ear,
Or blend it with the movings of the soul.
'T is a mysterious feeling, which combines
Man with the world around him, in a chain
Woven of flowers, and dipp'd in sweetness, till

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> He tastes the high communion of his thoughts
> With all existences, in earth and heaven,
> That meet him in the charm of grace and power.
> 'T is not the noisy babbler, who displays,
> In studied phrase, and noisy epithet,
> And rounded period, poor and vapid thoughts,
> Which peep from out the cumbrous ornaments
> That overload their littleness. Its words
> Are few, but deep and solemn."

Percival has less subjectivity, less of the brooding, philosophizing spirit, than any of his eminent contemporaries. His imagination, considered as a shaping faculty, is not so great as Dana's, Longfellow's, and perhaps Bryant's; but in fancy he excels them all. Indeed, the quickness with which the latter quality works, and the disposition of Percival to hurried composition, have not been favorable to the culture of high imaginative power. When the mind is really disturbed by the "fine frenzy," the imagination has no lack of activity in its motions; but when the poet, instead of being frenzied, is only a little "light-headed," it disdains to give its aid. In Percival, the feeling is often high and the verse winged, when the imagery is only common. His poems do not always seem adequately to convey the whole power of the mind from which they proceed.

Few poets in Mr. Griswold's motley collection excel Fitz-Greene Halleck in popularity. His metrical compositions, though not deficient in high qualities, do not require a very subtle taste in the reader in order to be appreciated. The frequent blending of serious thought and emotion with playful and careless fancies enables him to pass at once for a man of sentiment and a man of the world. He has more of the faculty than the feeling of the poet. He reposes little faith in his own creations. He is hardly willing to plant himself with undoubting confidence upon the eternal principles of the soul, on which the poetical is based, and avoid or repel the fleeting feelings and opinions which sometimes threaten and cloud their dominion. By the impertinence of his wit, he almost gives the impression that poetry is a mere juggle, and that he cares not to keep the secret. At times, he places the ideal and the actual face to face, and remains himself an indifferent spectator of the result. At others, he will evoke spirits from the vasty deep of imagina-

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tion, only to point and fleer at them, when they have obeyed his call. He has few serious thoughts that are not more or less associated with ludicrous ideas. A little laughing imp seems to sit opposite the fountains of his heart, and dispel with the merry flash of his eye every shade and thin essence which rise in misty beauty from their surface. In perusing some of his poems, we are tempted to call him a man of pure sentiment and fine imagination ruined by reading "Don Juan." There are poetical powers displayed in "Marco Bozzaris," "Burns," "Woman," and others of his serious poems, which we dislike to see played with and perverted. To produce a shock of surprise by the sudden intrusion of an incongruous idea into a mournful or sentimental flow of feeling, is but little above the claptrap of the stage. We are aware, that, in Halleck's case, this is done in an inimitable manner, and that the effect on one's risible faculties is irresistible; but still there are few who desire to be choked with a laugh, at the very moment when the tears are starting from their eyes. It introduces a species of skepticism, which is destructive to the enjoyment of poetry. The loftiness, purity, and tenderness of feeling, which Halleck can so well express, when he pleases, and the delicate and graceful fancies with which he can festoon thought and emotion, should never be associated with what is mean or ridiculous, even to gratify wit or whim. There is a kind of merry malevolence in the abasement of ennobling feelings and beautiful images, which is less pardonable than open scoffing, because more injurious.

It is quite common for the critics of Longfellow's poetry to escape the trouble of analysis, by offering some smooth eulogium on his taste, and some "lip-homage" to his artistical ability. Mr. Griswold satisfies his conscience by saying, that "Longfellow's works are eminently picturesque, and are distinguished for nicety of epithet and elaborate, scholarly finish. He has feeling, a rich imagination, and a cultivated taste." It seems to us, that these terms are as applicable to other American poets as to Longfellow. They do not indicate the characteristics of his genius, or give a glimpse of the spirit by which it is pervaded. A person, in reading the "Psalm of Life," does not say that this poem is "distinguished for nicety of epithet and elaborate, scholarly finish"; but rather, that this poem touches the heroic string

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of my nature, — breathes energy into my heart, — sustains my lagging purposes, — and fixes my thoughts on what is stable and eternal. Without questioning the artistical excellence of this poet, we still think that it is thrust forward too prominently in all notices of his writings. That which lies behind his style and mere mechanical skill should be first considered. The thought is of more importance than the manner of saying it. If the former be worthless, then the latter is not worth consideration. A poet who expresses nothing, with great "nicety of epithet," or with "elaborate, scholarly finish," is still only good for nothing. The questions which are of real moment relate to qualities which lie deeper than rhetoric.

The great characteristic of Longfellow, that of addressing the moral nature through the imagination, of linking moral truth to intellectual beauty, is a far greater excellence. His artistical ability is admirable, because it is not seen. It is rather mental than mechanical. In truth, it may be doubted if he is more distinguished as an artist than Dana or Bryant. If by saying that a poem is artistical, we mean that its form corresponds with its spirit, that it is fashioned into the likeness of the thought or emotion it is intended to convey, then "The Buccaneer" and "Thanatopsis" are as artistical as any of the "Voices of the Night." If mere skill in the use of multitudinous metres be meant, then Percival is more artistical than either. If mechanical ingenuity in forcing sentiment into forms to which it has no affinity be the meaning, then to be artistical is a fault or an affectation. The best artist is he who accommodates his diction to his subject. In this sense, Longfellow is an artist. By learning "to labor and to wait," by steadily brooding over the chaos in which thought and emotion first appear to the mind, and giving shape and life to both, before uttering them in words, he has obtained a singular mastery over expression. By this we do not mean, that he has a large command of language. No fallacy is greater than that which confounds fluency with expression. Washerwomen, and boys at debating clubs, often display more fluency than Webster; but his words are to theirs, as the roll of thunder to the patter of rain. Language often receives its significance and power from the person who uses it. Unless permeated by the higher faculties of the mind, unless it be, not the clothing, but the "incarnation of thought," it is

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quite an humble power. There are some writers who repose undoubting confidence in words. If their minds be filled with the epithets of poetry, they fondly deem that they have clutched its essence. In a piece of inferior verse, we often observe a great array of expressions which have been employed with great effect by genius, but which seem to burn the fingers and disconcert the equanimity of the aspiring word-catcher who presses them into his service. Felicity, not fluency, of language is a merit. There is such a thing, likewise, as making a style the expression of the nature of the writer who uses it. The rhetorical arrangement of Johnson is often pedantic, but it does not appear so bad in his writings as in the monstrous masses of verbiage beneath which the thin frames of his imitators are crushed. The style of Carlyle is faulty, when judged by the general rules of taste; but we should not desire that the rough gallop of his sentences should be changed for the graceful ambling of Addison's, without a corresponding change in his psychological condition.

Longfellow has a perfect command of that expression which results from restraining rather than cultivating fluency; and his manner is adapted to his theme. He rarely, if ever, mistakes "emotions for conceptions." His words are often pictures of his thought. He selects with great delicacy and precision the exact phrase which best expresses or suggests his idea. He colors his style with the skill of a painter. The warm flush and bright tints, as well as the most evanescent hues, of language, he uses with admirable discretion. In that higher department of his art, that of so combining his words and images that they make music to the soul as well as to the ear, and convey not only his feelings and thoughts, but also the very tone and condition of the soul in which they have being, he likewise excels. In "Maidenhood" and "Endymion," this power is admirably displayed. In what Mr. Griswold very truly calls one of his best poems, "The Skeleton in Armour," he manages a difficult verse with great skill. There is much of the old Norse energy in this composition, — that rough, ravenous battle-spirit, which, for a time, makes the reader's blood rush and tingle in warlike sympathy. But the manner in which the passions of the savage are modified by the sentiment of the lover, and the stout, death-defying heart of the warrior yields to that

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gentle but irresistible power which conquers without arms and enslaves without fetters, constitutes the great charm of the poem.

> "Once, as I told in glee
> Tales of the stormy sea,
> Soft eyes looked love on me,
> Burning, yet tender;
> And, as the white stars shine
> On the dark Norway pine,
> On that dark heart of mine
> Fell their soft splendor."

It would be easy to say much of Longfellow's singular felicity in addressing the moral nature of man. It has been said of him, sometimes in derision, that all his poems have a moral. There is, doubtless, a tendency in his mind to evolve some useful meaning from his finest imaginations, and to preach when he should only sing; but we still think that the moral of his compositions is rarely thrust intrudingly forward, but rather flows naturally from the subject. There is nothing of the spirit of Joseph Surface in his genius; he does not pride himself on being a man of "noble sentiments." The morality of the "Psalm of Life" is commonplace. If versified by a poetaster, it would inspire no deep feeling, and strengthen no high purposes. But the worn axioms of didactic verse have the breath of a new life breathed into them, when they are touched by genius. A power is added to them, of which before we had little conception. They are rendered instinct with imagination. We are made to love and to follow what before we merely assented to with a lazy acquiescence.

> "Lives of great men all remind us,
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us
> *Footprints on the sands of time.*
>
> "Footprints that perhaps another,
> Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
> A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
> Seeing, shall take heart again."

This is very different from saying, that, if we follow the example of the great and good, we shall live a noble life, and

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that the records of our deeds and struggles will strengthen the breasts of those who come after us to do and to suffer.

Longfellow's verse occupies a position half way between the poetry of actual life and the poetry of transcendentalism. Like all neutrals, he is liable to attack from the zealots of both parties; but it seems to us, that he has hit the exact point, beyond which no poet can at present go, without being neglected or ridiculed. He idealizes real life; he elicits new meaning from many of its rough shows; he clothes subtle and delicate thoughts in familiar imagery; he embodies high moral sentiment in beautiful and ennobling forms; he inweaves the golden threads of spiritual being into the texture of common existence; he discerns and addresses some of the finest sympathies of the heart; but he rarely soars into those regions of abstract imagination, where the bodily eye cannot follow, but where that of the seer is gifted with a "pervading vision." Though he fixes a keen glance on those filmy and fleeting shades of thought and feeling which common minds overlook or are incompetent to grasp, he has his eye open a little wider, perhaps, when its gaze is directed to the outward world, than when it is turned within. His imagination, in the sphere of its activity, is almost perfect in its power to shape in visible forms, or to suggest, by cunning verbal combinations, the feeling or thought he desires to express; but it lacks the strength and daring, and the wide sweep, which characterize the imagination of such poets as Shelley. He has little of the unrest and frenzy of the bard. We know, in reading him, that he will never miss his mark; that he will risk nothing; that he will aim to do only that which he feels he can do well. An air of repose, of quiet power, is around his compositions. He rarely loses sight of common interests and sympathies. He displays none of the stinging earnestness, the vehement sensibility, the gusts of passion, which characterize poets of the impulsive class. His spiritualism is not seen in wild struggles after an ineffable Something, for which earth can afford but imperfect symbols, and of which even abstract words can suggest little knowledge. He appears perfectly satisfied with his work. Like his own "Village Blacksmith," he retires every night with the feeling, that something has been attempted, and something *done*.

The intellectual tendencies of Longfellow, judging from

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the mystical charm which many of his poems possess, seem to be purely spiritual. But his keen sense of what is physically pleasurable keeps them in check, and gives a more sensuous property to his imagination than what simply inheres in it. Were it not that young misses have made the phrase of equivocal meaning, we would call him "a beautiful poet." He has a feeling exquisitely fine for what is generally understood by the term *beauty*, — that is, for actual, earthly beauty, idealized and refined by the imagination, embodied in graceful shapes, or beheld in that soft, dreamy light of fancy, which makes it more witching to the senses than if seen in bolder outlines. There is a slight dash of epicureanism in his conception of the quality, when his sentiment and sensations are commingled by his imagination. A sense of luxury steals over the heart, in reading many of his apparently most spiritualized descriptions.

His sense of beauty, though uncommonly vivid, is not the highest of which the mind is capable. He has little perception of its mysterious spirit; of that beauty, of which all physical loveliness is but the shadow, which awes and thrills the soul into which it enters, and lifts the imagination into regions "to which the heaven of heavens is but a veil." His mind never appears oppressed, nor his sight dimmed, by its exceeding glory. He feels, and loves, and creates what is beautiful; but he hymns no reverence, he pays no adoration, to the Spirit of Beauty. He would never exclaim with Shelley, "O awful Loveliness!"

We say this rather to make a distinction than to note a fault; to show how far the spiritual element in Longfellow's poetry is modified by the sensuous properties of his genius, than to blame him for the combination. Indeed, by a majority of critics and readers, this combination is deemed a high merit. If they found any fault with Longfellow, it would be, that he is too transcendental. It is the cant nowadays, that poetry is soaring beyond the ken of us "poor humans." A poet, who occasionally dwells in abstract imaginations, is pelted with pet epithets, and accused of lacking human sympathy. This arises, we think, from a too narrow definition of the term. It is true, that men have a quicker sense of their relations to external nature and to each other, than to God; to shows rather than to substances; and their hearts are more readily kindled by what is ad-

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dressed to their blood and physical temperament, than by that which speaks to their spiritual nature. Still, he must be a daring and somewhat impudent person, who decides upon the whole reach of human sympathies by the range of his own, and calls that meaningless and unprofitable, which his own heart echoes feebly or not at all. Lust, falsehood, and intemperance have been so often idealized by bards, and have found so ready a response from "human sympathies," that in some minds they have become significant of the whole meaning of the phrase. If the term, human weakness, or criminality, were substituted for it in many cases, there would be a gain to the science of strict definition. Every man has a theory of human sympathies to fit his own tastes; and his system is often so sharp a satire on his moral perceptions, that he would manifest much more prudence in its concealment, than in shouting it forth in the markets and public places of criticism.

The sympathies which Longfellow addresses are fine and poetical, but not the most subtle of which the soul is capable. The kindly affections, the moral sentiments, the joys, sorrows, regrets, aspirations, loves, and wishes of the heart, he has consecrated by new ideal forms and ascriptions. He inculcates with much force that poetic stoicism which teaches us to recken earthly evils at their true worth, and endure with patience what results inevitably from our condition, — as in the "Psalm of Life," "Excelsior," "The Light of Stars," and in passages of other poems. "The Village Blacksmith" and "God's Acre" have a rough grandeur, and "Maidenhood" and "Endymion" a soft, sweet, mystical charm, which advantageously display the range of his powers. Perhaps "Maidenhood" is the most finely poetical of all his poems. Nothing of its kind can be more exquisitely beautiful than this delicate creation. It appears like the utterance of a dream. In "The Spanish Student," the affluence of his imagination in images of grace, grandeur, and beauty, is most strikingly manifested. He scatters his wealth, in this production, with a careless munificence calculated to astonish the "barren rascals" of rhyme. The objection to it, as a play, is its lack of skill or power in the dramatic exhibition of character. But read merely as a poem cast in the form of dialogue, it is one of the most beautiful in American literature. None of his other pieces so well

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illustrates all his poetical qualities,—his imagination, his fancy, his sentiment, and his manner. It seems to comprehend the whole extent of his genius.

To write good comic verse is a different thing from writing good comic poetry. A jest or a sharp saying may be easily made to rhyme; but to blend ludicrous ideas with fancy and imagination, and display in their conception and expression the same poetic qualities usually exercised in serious composition, is a rare distinction. Among American poets, we know of none who excels Holmes in this difficult branch of the art. Many of his pleasant lyrics seem not so much the offspring of wit, as of fancy and sentiment turned in a humorous direction. His manner of satirizing the foibles, follies, vanities, and affectations of conventional life is altogether peculiar and original. He looks at folly and pretension from the highest pinnacle of scorn. They never provoke his indignation, for to him they are too mean to justify anger, and hardly worthy of petulance. His light, glancing irony and fleering sarcasm are the more effective, from the impertinence of his benevolent sympathies. He wonders, hopes, wishes, titters, and cries with his victims. He practises on them the legerdemain of contempt. He kills with a sly stab, and proceeds on his way as if "nothing in particular" had happened. He picks his teeth with cool unconcern, while looking down on the captives of his wit, as if their destruction conferred no honor upon himself, and was unimportant to the rest of mankind. He makes them ridicule themselves, by giving a voice to their motions and manners. He translates the conceited smirk of the coxcomb into felicitous words. The vacant look and trite talk of the bore he links with subtle analogies. He justifies the egotist unto himself by a series of mocking sophisms. He expresses the voiceless folly and affectation of the ignorant and brainless by cunningly contrived phrases and apt imagery. He idealizes nonsense, pertness, and aspiring dulness. The movement of his wit is so swift, that its presence is known only when it strikes. He will sometimes, as it were, blind the eyes of his victims with diamond dust, and then pelt them pitilessly with scoffing compliments. He passes from the sharp, stinging gibe to the most grotesque exaggerations of drollery, with a bewildering rapidity.

Holmes is also a poet of sentiment and passion. "Old

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Ironsides," "The Steamboat," "Qui Vive," and numerous passages of "Poetry," display a lyrical fire and inspiration which should not be allowed to decay for want of care and fuel. In those poems of fancy and sentiment, where the exceeding richness and softness of his diction seem trembling on the verge of meretricious ornament, he is preserved from slipping into Della Cruscanism by the manly energy of his nature and his keen perception of the ridiculous. Those who know him only as a comic lyrist, as the libellous laurea tof chirping folly and presumptuous egotism, would be surprised at the clear sweetness and skylark thrill of his serious and sentimental compositions.

Of Willis G. Clark, Mr. Griswold writes: "His metrical writings are all distinguished for a graceful and elegant diction, thoughts morally and poetically beautiful, and chaste and appropriate imagery." This praise is substantiated by the extracts which follow it. There is much purity and strength of feeling in many of Mr. Clark's poems. Though not marked by much power of imagination, they are replete with fancy and sentiment, and have often a searching pathos and a mournful beauty which find their way quietly to the heart.

C. P. Cranch has worked with some success in the transcendental vein. The "Hours," "Stanzas," "My Thoughts," are specimens of the results of his labors. William Pitt Palmer, whose name we see occasionally flitting through the periodical world, has written a poem on "Light," in the stanza of Shelley's "Cloud," far superior in diction and imagery to a large portion of our miscellaneous poetry. Mr. Griswold would have done well to place him in the body of the volume, instead of the appendix. He is worthy of a more prominent station than he occupies.

John Greenleaf Whittier is one of our most characteristic poets. Few excel him in warmth of temperament. Old John Dennis, the Gifford of Queen Anne's time, describes genius as caused "by a furious joy and pride of soul on the conception of an extraordinary hint. Many men have their hints, without their motions of fury and pride of soul, because they want fire enough to agitate their spirits; and these we call cold writers. Others, who have a great deal of fire, but have not excellent organs, feel the forementioned motions, without the extraordinary hints, and these we call fustian writers." Whittier has this "furious joy" and "pride of soul," even when the "hints" are not extraordi-

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nary ; but he never falls into absolute rant and fustian. A common thought comes from his pen "rammed with life." He seems, in some of his lyrics, to pour out his blood with his lines. There is a rush of passion in his verse, which sweeps every thing along with it. His fancy and imagination can hardly keep pace with their fiery companion. His vehement sensibility will not allow the inventive faculties fully to complete what they may have commenced. The stormy qualities of his mind, acting at the suggestions of conscience, produce a kind of military morality which uses all the deadly arms of verbal warfare. When well intrenched in abstract right, he always assumes a hostile attitude towards the champions or practisers of abstract wrong. He aims to give his song "a rude martial tone, — a blow in every thought." His invective is merciless and undistinguishing ; he almost screams with rage and indignation. Occasionally, the extreme bitterness and fierceness of his declamation degenerate into mere shrewishness and scolding. Of late, he has somewhat pruned the rank luxuriance of his style. The "Lines on the Death of Lucy Hooper," "Raphael," "Follen," "Memories," among the poems in his last published volume, are indications that his mind is not without subtle imagination and delicate feeling, as well as truculent strength and fierce energy. There is much spiritual beauty in these little compositions. It is difficult to conceive how the man who can pour out such torrents of passionate feeling, and who evidently loves to see his words tipped with fire, can at the same time write such graceful and thoughtful stanzas as these :

"A beautiful and happy girl
With step as soft as summer air,
And fresh young lip and brow of pearl,
Shadowed by many a careless curl,
Of unconfined and flowing hair :
A seeming child in every thing,
Save thoughtful brow and ripening charms,
As Nature wears the smile of Spring
When sinking into Summer's arms.

"How thrills once more the lengthening chain
Of memory at the thought of thee !
Old hopes, that long in dust have lain,
Old dreams, come thronging back again,
And boyhood lives again in me ;

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I feel its glow upon my cheek,
Its fulness of the heart is mine,
As when I learned to hear thee speak,
Or raised my doubtful eye to thine.

"I hear again thy low replies,
I feel thy arm within my own,
And timidly again uprise
The fringèd lids of hazel eyes,
With soft brown tresses overblown.
Ah! memories of sweet summer eves,
Of moonlit wave and willowy way,
Of stars and flowers and dewy leaves,
And smiles and tones more dear than they!

* * * * *

"And wider yet in thought and deed
Our still diverging paths incline,
Thine the Genevan's sternest creed,
While answers to my spirit's need
The Yorkshire peasant's simple line:
For thee the priestly rite and prayer,
And holy day and solemn psalm;
For me the silent reverence, where
My brethren gather, slow and calm."

Whittier has the soul of a great poet, and we should not be surprised if he attained the height of excellence in his art. The faults of his mind, springing from excessive fluency and a too excitable sensibility, exaggerated as they have been by the necessities of hasty composition, have prevented him from displaying as yet the full power of his genius. It is by no means unlikely, that, when he has somewhat tamed the impetuosity of his feelings, and brooded with more quiet intensity over the large stores of poetry which lie chaotically in his nature, he may yet produce a work which will rival, and perhaps excel, the creations of his most distinguished contemporaries. He has that vigor, truthfulness, and manliness of character, — that freedom from conventional shackles, — that careless disregard of Mr. Prettyman's notion as to what constitutes the high, and Miss Betty's notion as to what constitutes the low, — that native energy and independence of nature, — which form the basis of the character of every great genius, and without which poetry is apt to be a mere echo of the drawing-room, and to idealize affectations instead of realities.

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We are glad to perceive, that Mr. Griswold has done some justice to the poetical powers of Mrs. Maria Brooks, author of "Zóphiël, or the Bride of Seven." This lady has generally written under the name of Maria del Occidente. Her poems evince mental qualities, which, if they had been employed on themes or incidents more in accordance with popular feeling than those she has chosen, would have given her the first place among American poets of her own sex. Her mind has a wider sweep, and is more poetical in its tendencies, than that of any of her female contemporaries. In fancy and passion, she has hardly been excelled by any American writer. Her mind has been well stored with knowledge, her sense of harmony is exceedingly fine, and her command of language is almost despotic. She possesses great fertility of fancy, and a luxurious sense of the beauty of outward objects. Nature to her is "an appetite and a passion." In the description of tropical scenery, there is a delicious richness, a dreamy beauty, and a "mazy-running soul of harmony," in her verse, which not only bring the scene vividly to the eye, but render it perceptible to the other senses. She has great warmth and occasional intensity of feeling, and gives it free and bold expression. Her poem of "Zóphiël," first published in London, in 1833, is a remarkable production. It has been much praised in England, but seems to be little known in this country. By many it is still considered the work of an Englishwoman. When republished in Boston, it was hailed by most of the newspaper critics with admiring ignorance or *pert stupidity*. *Some were astounded to find a woman of* the nineteenth century evincing more knowledge of Plato and Hafiz than of Bulwer or Hannah More; others were shocked, that she should so far wander from the "legitimate sphere" of female composition, as to attempt something more than the versification of sermons, or the vivification of common-places. Though the subject is, on the whole, delicately treated, there are a few stanzas which might have been omitted with advantage to the general refinement of expression. These were darted upon by persons endowed with a sharp scent for indelicacy, and represented, with certain mysterious nods, winks, and the other signs of prudery's freemasonry, as samples of the poem; and, accordingly, the most unjustly neglected work of genius ever

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published in the United States came near obtaining the dubious honor of circulating over the whole land as a book "which no young lady should read." We think that Mr. Griswold's selections from "Zóphiël," although they cannot give a full impression of its merits, prove that it contains poetical qualities which would reflect no discredit upon poets of far greater popularity.

Mrs. E. Oakes Smith, of New York, has written a number of short poems of much beauty, purity, and spirituality. "The Sinless Child" and "The Acorn" manifest qualities of mind and heart, which are worthy of a more thorough development. They display much depth of feeling and affluence of fancy, and are singularly pure and sweet in their tone. "The Sinless Child," though deficient in artistical finish, contains many passages of a high order of poetry, and is as stainless as its subject. It gives evidence, also, of a capacity for a more extended sweep over the domain of thought and emotion. Mrs. Smith is not merely a smooth and skilful versifier, indulging occasionally in a flirtation with Poetry, to while away the time, but one whose productions are true exponents of her inward life, and display the freshness and fervor which spring from individuality of character and feeling. She speaks of what she knows and of what she has felt. Her theory of morals does not seem to have come into her soul through the inlet of the ear. Her truthfulness is a prominent characteristic of her genius.

The poems of Mrs. Sigourney are very numerous and popular. According to Mr. Griswold, she has published six or seven volumes, of which the last appeared in 1841. The moral character of her writings is unexceptionable. She possesses great facility in versification, and is fluent both in thoughts and language. But much that she has written is deformed by the triteness and irregularity consequent upon hasty composition, and hardly does justice to her real powers. "Niagara," "The Death of an Infant," "Winter," and "Napoleon's Epitaph," are favorable specimens of her talents.

Mrs. Child has written little verse, but the few metrical pieces which pass under her name are almost as good as her best prose. Hannah F. Gould is a name so pleasantly interwoven with pure fancies and good thoughts, that it is an unpleasant task to sift her productions, for the purpose of

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selecting those of enduring value. She is responsible for three volumes of verse, all of which have been read. Mrs. Amelia B. Welby, a young poetess of the west, has considerable force of expression, delicacy of fancy, and the poetic feeling in large measure. Mrs. Elizabeth Hall has acquired much reputation by her dramatic poem of "Miriam," which we noticed at length in a previous number of this Journal.* Elizabeth F. Ellett, Anne Peyre Dinnies (author of that noble expression of high feeling, "The Wife"), Emma C. Embury, Lucy Hooper, Lucretia and Margaret Davidson, receive the due honors of Mr. Griswold's pen and scissors. He makes numerous selections from the female poets.

We wish that we had space to do some justice to the quick, teeming fancy of Willis, a quality which he exercises in the service both of sentiment and humor. But we have noticed his poems at length in a former number of this Journal,† to which we must refer our readers for an estimate of his powers. Pierpont has displayed much lyrical enthusiasm and forcible expression, which are worthy of more than a passing tribute. Drake's delicate creation, "The Culprit Fay," and his stirring lyric on "The American Flag," deserve commemoration. Hillhouse has written much which will not be forgotten. "Hadad" is a chaste and beautiful production, evincing skill and taste in composition, and pure and melodious in its tone. The "sunset-tinted haziness," through which the fine humanity and suggestive imagination of Lowell are seen, would delay the course of any critic who was not in desperate haste. Mr. Griswold has hardly done him justice in the selections contained in this volume. There are many excellent thoughts and imaginations scattered over the compositions of Brainard, Pike, Dawes, Wilde, Ware, Wilcox, Neal, Peabody, Sands, Lunt, Clarke, and others in Mr. Griswold's collection, which if the reader cannot discover himself, he will be assisted in his search by the editor's kindly and genial notices. Had we room for extracts, we might select many pieces of merit from the writings of American poets of the second class; but time and space are particularly inexorable to reviewers, and we must pause.

We can hardly conceive, that a reasonable being should

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* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLV. p. 312.
† Ibid., Vol. XLIII. p. 384.

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look with coldness or dislike upon any efforts to establish a national literature, of which poetry is such an important element. The man, whose heart is capable of any patriotic emotion, who feels his pulse quicken when the idea of his country is brought home to him, must desire that country to possess a voice more majestic than the roar of party, and more potent than the whine of sects, — a voice which should breathe energy and awaken hope wherever its kindling tones are heard. The life of our native land, — the inner spirit which animates its institutions, — the new ideas and principles, of which it is the representative, — these every patriot must wish to behold reflected from the broad mirror of a comprehensive and soul-animating literature. The true vitality of a nation is not seen in the triumphs of its industry, the extent of its conquests, or the reach of its empire ; but in its intellectual dominion. Posterity passes over statistical tables of trade and population, to search for the records of the mind and heart. It is of little moment how many millions of men were included at any time under the name of one people, if they have left no intellectual testimonials of their mode and manner of existence, no "footprints on the sands of time." The heart refuses to glow at the most astounding array of figures. A nation lives only through its literature, and its mental life is immortal. The capricious tyranny of Dionysius might well inspire fear in those whose lives and fortunes were subject to his passions and whims ; but it can exercise no control over us. It died with the feeble arm of him who wielded it. But the power of Plato passed not away with his corporeal frame. Homer still sings, Socrates still speaks, to us. Greece yet lives in her literature, more real to our minds, nearer to our affections, than many European kingdoms. The true monarchs of a country are those whose sway is over thought and emotion. They are

> "The dead but sceptred sovereigns, who still rule
> Our spirits from their urns."

America abounds in the material of poetry. Its history, its scenery, the structure of its social life, the thoughts which pervade its political forms, the meaning which underlies its hot contests, are all capable of being exhibited in a poetical aspect. Carlyle, in speaking of the settlement of Plymouth

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by the Pilgrims, remarks, that, if we had the open sense of the Greeks, we should have "found a poem here; one of nature's own poems, such as she writes in broad facts over great continents." If we have a literature, it should be a national literature; no feeble or sonorous echo of Germany or England, but essentially American in its tone and object. No matter how meritorious a composition may be, as long as any foreign nation can say that it has done the same thing better, so long shall we be spoken of with contempt, or in a spirit of benevolent patronage. We begin to sicken of the custom, now so common, of presenting even our best poems to the attention of foreigners, with a deprecating, apologetic air; as if their acceptance of the offering, with a few soft and silky compliments, would be an act of kindness demanding our warmest acknowledgments. If the Quarterly Review or Blackwood's Magazine speaks well of an American production, we think that we can praise it ourselves, without incurring the reproach of bad taste. The folly we yearly practise, of flying into a passion with some inferior English writer, who caricatures our faults, and tells dull jokes about his tour through the land, has only the effect to exalt an insignificant scribbler into notoriety, and give a nominal value to his recorded impertinence. If the mind and heart of the country had its due expression, if its life had taken form in a literature worthy of itself, we should pay little regard to the childish tattling of a pert coxcomb who was discontented with our taverns, or the execrations of some bluff sea-captain who was shocked with our manners. The uneasy sense we have of something in our national existence, which has not yet been fitly expressed, gives poignancy to the least ridicule launched at faults and follies which lie on the superficies of our life. Every person feels, that a book, which condemns the country for its peculiarities of manners and customs, does not pierce into the heart of the matter, and is essentially worthless. If Bishop Berkeley, when he visited Malebranche, had paid exclusive attention to the habitation, raiment, and manners of the man, and neglected the conversation of the metaphysician, and, when he returned to England, had entertained Pope, Swift, Gay, and Arbuthnot with satirical descriptions of the "complement extern" of his eccentric host, he would have acted just as wisely as many an English tourist, with whose malicious pleasantry on

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our habits of chewing, spitting, and eating, we are silly enough to quarrel. To the United States, in reference to the popgun shots of foreign tourists, might be addressed the warning which Peter Plymley thundered against Bonaparte, in reference to the Anti-Jacobin jests of Canning: Tremble, oh! thou land of many spitters and voters, "for a *pleasant* man has come out against thee, and thou shalt be laid low by a joker of jokes, and he shall talk his pleasant talk to thee, and thou shalt be no more!"

In order that America may take its due rank in the commonwealth of nations, a literature is needed which shall be the exponent of its higher life. We live in times of turbulence and change. There is a general dissatisfaction, manifesting itself often in rude contests and ruder speech, with the gulf which separates principles from actions. Men are struggling to realize dim ideals of right and truth, and each failure adds to the desperate earnestness of their efforts. Beneath all the shrewdness and selfishness of the American character, there is a smouldering enthusiasm which flames out at the first touch of fire, — sometimes at the hot and hasty words of party, and sometimes at the bidding of great thoughts and unselfish principles. The heart of the nation is easily stirred to its depths; but those who rouse its fiery impulses into action are often men compounded of ignorance and wickedness, and wholly unfitted to guide the passions which they are able to excite. There is no country in the world which has nobler ideas embodied in more worthless shapes. All our factions, fanaticisms, reforms, parties, creeds, ridiculous or dangerous though they often appear, are founded on some aspiration or reality which deserves a better form and expression. There is a mighty power in great speech. If the sources of what we call our fooleries and faults were rightly addressed, they would echo more majestic and kindling truths. We want a poetry which shall speak in clear, loud tones to the people; a poetry which shall make us more in love with our native land, by converting its ennobling scenery into the images of lofty thoughts; which shall give visible form and life to the abstract ideas of our written constitutions; which shall confer upon virtue all the strength of principle and all the energy of passion; which shall disentangle freedom from cant and senseless hyperbole, and render it a thing of such loveliness and grandeur

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as to justify all self-sacrifice ; which shall make us love man by the new consecrations it sheds on his life and destiny ; which shall force through the thin partitions of conventionalism and expediency ; vindicate the majesty of reason ; give new power to the voice of conscience, and new vitality to human affection ; soften and elevate passion ; guide enthusiasm in a right direction ; and speak out in the high language of men to a nation of men.

ART. II. — *Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity.* By JOHN GORHAM PALFREY. With a *Discourse on the Life and Character of John Lowell, Jr.* By EDWARD EVERETT. Boston : James Munroe and Company. 1843. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 367 and 444.

To the late John Lowell, Jr., we are indebted, not only for the most munificent private endowment for literary or philanthropic purposes ever made in New England, but yet more for the conception of an entirely new institution, occupying at once the highest and the broadest ground, — enlisting in its administration the best and most cultivated minds in the community, and bringing the results of their learning and acumen within the reach of multitudes who could enjoy them in no other way. The Lowell Institute is a free University, — a University for the people, — designed to embrace every department of literary, scientific, and ethical culture, to develope and cherish original thought and laborious research on the widest range of subjects, and then to give to genius or application its best reward, in an enlarged utterance, and in the power of the highest usefulness to the greatest number.

The first series of lectures published in behalf of the Institute ought, of course, to contain Mr. Everett's beautiful biography of its founder. From this we learn, that the bequest, by which he has made his fellow-citizens so largely his debtors, was in entire harmony with his whole life and spirit. He belonged to that class of liberal-minded merchants, whose generous love of arts and letters has left its traces in the foundation of nearly every professorship in our

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ancient University, and in nearly every alcove in her library; while their philanthropy has surrounded their city with noble institutions for the relief of almost every infirmity of body, mind, and heart. Among those who have contributed to raise to so high an intellectual and moral standard the mercantile character of our metropolis, the ancestors and near kindred of Mr. Lowell, both on his father's and his mother's side, deserve, and have received from Mr. Everett, the most respectful and grateful notice. Thus surrounded by examples of talent and wealth consecrated to the public good, even while most deeply engrossed in business, Mr. Lowell neglected no worthy cause which he could aid, and shunned no trust or office, in which he could contribute to the general welfare. With an earnest thirst for knowledge, he combined a no less earnest desire for its diffusion; and a prominent item of his preparation for the extended plan of travel, in the prosecution of which he died, was the bequest of an ample portion of his property for the support of those courses of lectures which now bear his name. His testamentary directions were completed in a codicil to his will, written amidst the ruins of Thebes. These directions, with Mr. Everett's just and appropriate commentary upon them, we had marked for insertion; but find that they were quoted in a former number of this Journal, in a notice of Mr. Everett's Lecture,* an edition of which was published soon after its delivery. Referring our readers to that notice for the sketch of Mr. Lowell's life and plan, which we should otherwise have given here, we pass at once to Dr. Palfrey's Lectures.

We have, in these volumes, three courses of eight lectures each, delivered in three successive years, — the first course comprising the "general scheme of the evidences of Christianity," and the second and third being a compend of the history of infidelity, — a synopsis of Jewish, Pagan, and Deistical objections to Christianity. We have, also, in an Appendix to the first volume, Dr. Palfrey's valuable Dudleian Lecture on "The Theory and Uses of Natural Religion."

Dr. Palfrey's style of thought is eminently perspicuous. We never encounter in his writings those shadowy, half-

* Vol. LI. pp. 225, *et seq.*

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formed, prematurely penned ideas, which in our times stand so often in the place of sound, sober thought. His language is carefully chosen, explicit, and in pure taste. His sentences are all full of meaning, and unencumbered by mere expletives. His only fault of style is a tendency to involved, indirect, circuitous phraseology, — an over-fondness for parenthesis, — a too free use, and too frequent repetition of qualifying words and phrases, — the besetting sin of an accurate mind, which likes not to trust to the reader any one idea, without connecting with it, in the compass of the same sentence, all its needed modifications and abatements. This peculiarity, no doubt, makes Dr. Palfrey a less popular writer with the multitude than he might otherwise be ; but the patient and diligent reader will find that he is making constant progress with his author, and that, when one of these complex sentences is mastered, he has taken a long step forward on solid ground, — has become fully possessed of some one entire and definite idea closely connected with the point under discussion.

The work before us is marked throughout by carefully matured thought, and by explicit and guarded statement. Its reasoning, though close and acute, is never captious or sophistical, — though profound, is always clear. As a compend of the evidences of Christianity, it takes precedence of all previous works in point of comprehensiveness and thoroughness, while in no respect is it inferior to any, except that one may miss in it the winning *naïveté* of Paley's style and manner, — a grace in which he confessedly stands alone and unapproached.

Dr. Palfrey's reasoning is, throughout, severely just and accurate, equally shunning the opposite errors of unauthorized assumption on his own side, and of gratuitous concession to his opponents. This happy medium has rarely been attained. The error of many professed defenders of the faith has been, that they have assumed more than a skeptic is bound to grant, — that they have taken their stand on a higher ground than their opponents, — that they have begged some points in order to prove others. The result has been the production of wholesome homilies, of well-phrased panegyrics on Christianity, highly edifying to a believer, but worse than useless for their professed purpose, inasmuch as they leave upon an indifferent or hostile mind the impression,

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that Christianity has not its basis in the common laws of belief, — in those fundamental truths which no one questions. Christians have written as if it were gross sacrilege to uncover the foundations of their faith ; they have been restrained by sincere religious awe from the minute, logical analysis of the elements of their belief ; and their adversaries have mistaken their reverence for a lurking skepticism. But in the work before us, while a tone of deep religious reverence is sustained throughout, it is not suffered to interfere with the full and candid statement of difficulties and objections, — with the exhibition of the entire field of controversy, — with the surrender of all the vantage-ground often claimed on the score of hallowed associations. No appeal is made to the religious biases of education, — none to the odium which so generally attaches to infidelity.

Dr. Palfrey has no less happily shunned an error of the opposite bearing. Many writers on the evidences of Christianity have written as if they doubted the force of their own arguments and the validity of their own answers to objections. Difficulties, which they had seemingly disposed of, they have not suffered to lie still. Phantoms of doubt, which they had once laid, they have summoned up again. Indeed, the process in some works has seemed to be, the evoking of every spirit of unbelief, and the doing battle with all of them to the last, the curtain dropping in the midst of the grand *mêlée*, with the scales of victory equipoised. Dr. Palfrey claims the right of trying each separate issue by itself, — of regarding a point once proved as definitively settled, and an objection once refuted as put out of the combat. For instance, after proving that the Gospels, which we now have, are the undoubted writings of the men whose names they bear, he suffers no floating doubt of the authorship of these records to mingle with the discussion of their trustworthiness, but makes use of their genuineness, already demonstrated, as an available "stand-point" for farther reasoning. In like manner, too, when he has vindicated the Evangelists from the charge of imposture, and has made their honesty an established fact, he takes his position upon that fact in proving that they were well-informed and undeluded witnesses and historians. Now, this is the only true mode of reasoning ; it is acknowledged as legitimate in every other department of inquiry ; nothing that needs proof

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could be proved without it. On all other subjects, men refuse to retrace steps once taken, and to yield ground once won ; but they use, as they would axioms, propositions already demonstrated. Why, then, should the Christian apologist deem nothing proved, till he has proved every thing, — no portion of the field his own, till he has conquered the whole of it ? Why should he, unless for the mere show of arms, surrender any vantage-ground lawfully acquired ? Hardly any other subject would bear to be thus treated ; and nothing gives us so high an idea of the overflowing fulness and sufficiency of the Christian evidences, as the fact that they can present a fair front, and carry with them great weight of proof, when thus exhibited in detail and without mutual defence or corroboration.

Another prominent, and, as we believe, a unique excellence of Dr. Palfrey's work, consists in his confining the argument to Christianity considered as distinct from Judaism, instead of blending the two together, and intermingling the trains of reasoning appropriate to each respectively. Now, as to ourselves, we sincerely believe, as does our author, in the divine origin of the Mosaic economy. Nay, more, we plead guilty (notwithstanding the tendency of the times to sneer and cavil at the supernatural) to a belief in all the Scriptures, in ante-Abrahamic and post-Mosaic revelations, in a chain of miracle and prophecy reaching from the first to the second Adam. Our philosophy, if we have any, is in this matter the handmaid of our faith. On *a priori* grounds, we should not expect to find the Christian revelation, so vast, so full, so clear, occupying an isolated place, midway in the records of the past ; but should look for some pre-announcement of the Anointed of God and the Regenerator of man, — some fore-shining of the true and universal light. We should expect to see somewhere in the past the rude germ of a religious system so comprehensive and perfect, and to trace its gradual unfolding, its budding promise, from age to age. Had we not the Old Testament extant, we should cherish no doubt that there had been one, if not written with a human pen, yet engraven by miracle on the phenomena of nature, and by the divine spirit on the fleshly tablets of the heart. Yet, with this belief, so far are we from adducing the Old Testament to substantiate the New, that we reason back from the New to the Old, in order to

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authenticate the latter on what seems to us the surest ground. The prophetical argument for the truth of Christianity we deem complete and sound ; but it is better adapted to confirm than to create faith. It is not of a nature to be appreciated by ignorant or stubborn unbelief. The proofs of the antiquity, genuineness, and authenticity of the books of Old Testament, real and convincing as they are, are too archaic and recondite in their character, to be set forth with good effect in popular lectures or treatises ; and yet the unbeliever justly demands these proofs, when arguments are drawn from the Old Testament in behalf of the religion of the New. If you allege a particular prediction as fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth, it is not enough for you to demonstrate its application to him, and to him alone. You must also convince the skeptic, perhaps a man unversed in the laws of historical evidence, (which is a very different thing from convincing yourself,) that the words which you cite were written before the advent of Jesus.

Then, again, the internal objections and difficulties connected with the Old Testament are much more numerous and grave than those connected with the New. That this is the case, if not a *primâ facie* argument in favor of the Old Testament, is, at least, a fact, the absence of which would indicate a supposititious system, of modern creation, sustained by forged records. Were the steps to the authentication of the Old Testament obvious and easy, it could not be what it purports to be, namely, the record of an abrogated system, temporary and local in its character, based upon the exigencies of an age, of which it is the only surviving monument. Christianity and its records, on the other hand, purport to have had their birth in a well known age, on which the most enduring monuments of ancient literature and art reflect a flood of light, and among a people, whose national traits have been stereotyped for two thousand years, and whose condition then, and their fortunes ever since, are the subject of authentic history. Then, too, if Christianity be of divine origin, it was undoubtedly designed to be perpetual and universal ; and we should therefore expect to find, that its divine Author had suffered to be connected with its records fewer things that could become obsolete, or unintelligible, or distasteful, than we might find in the records of a system equally divine, which the world was destined to outgrow.

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Moreover, Christianity is complete and sufficient in itself without Judaism and its records. A man need not be made a Jew, in order to become a Christian. One might have the firmest possible faith in the divine origin of Christianity, and yet might deny the credibility of many parts of the Old Testament, and have little or no faith in the inspiration of Moses. The early Gentile converts, nay, many of the Fathers, knew little and thought little of the Old Testament; and the just estimation in which the Christian world now holds it, as the authentic record of God's earlier revelations, it attained only by slow degrees, and not in the whole church until the fourth or fifth century. Why, then, should the inquirer into the truth of Christianity be perplexed, against his will, by the entire argument in behalf of Judaism? Or, why should objections to the earlier dispensation be suffered to hang about the later and clearer? Far better is the course taken in the work before us. Let Christianity be set forth as based on the immutable grounds of historical testimony and undoubted miracle, and as authenticated by internal marks of divinity, which no imposture could counterfeit, and which no well disposed mind can mistake. There let the inquirer pause, if he will. Thus far, let all doubts be put at rest, as they easily may be. Then let Judaism, with its records, constitute a distinct and independent branch of inquiry; for it opens not only a wider field, but a different mode of research, demands a different apparatus for investigation, and claims, if proved authentic, a different kind of reverence. A different *kind*, we say, not degree; for whatever is divine must needs be perfect in its place and for its uses, and therefore demands the highest *degree* of reverence; but we revere Judaism and its records with a simply objective regard, as the light of another world than ours; while Christianity is the central orb of our own system, the sun of our own souls.

The first course of Dr. Palfrey's Lectures occupies in the main the ground marked out by Paley, and retraced in part by most of the professed treatises on the Christian evidences. But the field, though covered by a host of writers, was by no means exhausted; and these lectures constitute an original work, so far as in the nature of things originality can be affirmed of such a work. The arrangement is both comprehensive and compact. The leading heads of argument

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are exhibited in the relative order in which they would naturally present themselves to a seeker after truth, and are made to bear upon each other with a constantly accumulating power. The first lecture, on the respective provinces and mutual relations of the *internal* and the *external* evidences of Christianity, is a treatise of very great value, and admirably adapted to rebuke the sneering tone which some assume, and to shape the vague ideas which many entertain, with regard to the validity of historical testimony in matters of faith. It is, in truth, intrinsically necessary, that religion should have a historical basis. We have no conclusive internal evidence of any thing out of the range of our own consciousness. The utmost that internal marks of credibility can do, out of the province of consciousness, is, to render a proposition probable by showing its consistency with previously ascertained truth, and thus to prepare the way for the presentation of historical evidence, or to confirm it when presented. But the truths of religion are, most of them, out of the range of consciousness. We can be conscious only of what appertains to ourselves and to the present moment, while religious truth embraces all orders of beings and a past and future eternity. Concerning these beings and this eternity, we may, indeed, form plausible conjectures ; we may test such views as are proposed by our own notions of fitness and rectitude, and may feel ourselves strongly drawn towards certain opinions and repelled from others by their accordance or discrepancy with our own sentiments or characters. But this accordance is not demonstration, nor is this discrepancy disproof ; for how know we, that we ourselves may not have fallen out of the harmony of the spiritual universe, so that, in fact, that which is the most widely at variance with our tone of feeling may be the truth ? Is it said, that harmony with our *intuitions* is the unfailing criterion of truth ? We reply, that it is impossible to distinguish our intuitions from the early and established results of education, reasoning, or prejudice. That this is the case is evident from the discrepancy between the alleged intuitions of persons differing as to nation, culture, or religion.

But we are told, that truth, being absolute and universal, cannot be safely received on human testimony, but only on that of the Absolute Being himself, with whose nature and attributes all truth is identical. This we grant. But men

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are adequate witnesses to individual and local facts; and such facts, when they stand apart from the common course of nature, and transcend the established sphere of human agency, must needs be the expressions, signs, or indications of absolute truth. Herein lies the efficacy of miracles as a form of testimony. We do not contend that Matthew, or John, or Paul is a competent witness to absolute truth. But miracles, if they have occurred, are individual and local facts, and, as such, may be substantiated, like any other facts, by human testimony. They are facts, which, from their very definition, must have taken place aside from the usual course of events and beyond the power of man. They are, therefore, the voice, the testimony, of God; and whatever truth they imply, and whatever truth they attest, by taking place in immediate connexion with its promulgation, rests on the authority of God. We do not, then, when we urge the external evidences of Christianity, present the Apostles and Evangelists as witnesses to the truths which constitute the Christian religion; — to these truths God is our only witness; — those great and holy men simply substantiate the miraculous facts, which are God's testimony.

Having shown the necessity and value of external testimony, and assigned to internal evidence its deservedly high, and yet subordinate, rank in the scale of Christian evidences, Dr. Palfrey proceeds to prove the *a priori* credibility of miracles, and the necessity and seasonableness of the Christian revelation. Under this last head, he has given us the most graphic and truthful picture that we remember to have seen of the intellectual and moral condition of mankind at the time of the Saviour's advent, enriched by numerous and peculiarly apt classical references and quotations. He then proves the authenticity of the four Gospels; clears the Evangelists from the charges of imposture and enthusiasm; establishes their trustworthiness as witnesses to the facts which they relate; and exhibits the early and ample reception of their narratives, under circumstances of time, place, and antagonist belief and interest, which must have subjected their testimony to the most searching and skeptical scrutiny, as a phenomenon to be accounted for only by supposing them true and faithful witnesses.

The argument comprised in these eight lectures is close, logical, continuous. We miss no essential link. We de-

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tect no irrelevant matter. The whole could be reduced to a few simple syllogisms. There is no compend of the Christian evidences, which we should put so hopefully as we should this, into the hands of a candid and philosophical unbeliever; and, could this course be published apart from the other two, somewhat simplified in style, and recast from the form of lectures into that of a compact treatise, with appropriate divisions and titles, it would become at once a highly popular work, — a text-book for schools and colleges, — a book for the many, which the many would read, and prize, and enjoy.

But admirably as the plan of the first of these courses is filled out, and its designs accomplished, the work, as it now is, will be chiefly sought for and valued on account of the second and third courses. The complete history of infidelity was, so far as we know, never written before. The materials here brought together were previously accessible only through the medium of a larger library than falls to the lot of many private individuals. The monuments of pagan hostility to our religion, few indeed and fragmentary, are widely scattered. The only avowed compend of Jewish anti-Christian writings, which we have ever seen, is Wagenseil's "Tela Ignea Satanæ," which contains barely a few Rabbinical tracts, with a Latin version, and a verbose, pedantic, and almost interminable commentary. The period covered by Leland's "View of English Deistical Writers" includes most (though not all) of the distinguished names that have been arrayed in England against the Christian faith; but this, though almost supplying the place of the writers themselves for all purposes of reference, is not a book to be read so much as to be consulted. The sneers and the sophisms of French unbelief are, indeed, hardly worth collecting, with a view to rebut or expose them, from those foulest of literary *cloacæ*, where they are fast rotting in oblivion; but still the reign of irreligion in France covers so large a space on the map of the yet recent past, as to excite a reasonable curiosity respecting its sources and its agents. German infidelity, mystified, sublimated, and unlabelled, must, to be sure, be encountered by all, who, in the departments of philosophy, biblical criticism, and theology, would avail themselves of German learning; but its Heaven-daring audacity and its pompous shallowness can be fully exposed only by the attempt to clothe its in-

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flated, featureless, limbless form in plain Anglo-Saxon garments. By bringing together all these phases of unbelief in a succinct form, and giving us a comprehensive view of its history from the earliest times, Dr. Palfrey has rendered an eminent service to the cause of religion.

But what can the history of infidelity do for the cause of religion? Much, every way, we reply. Christianity is proved, not by demonstrative, but by moral reasoning. Now demonstration is the only one-sided argument. In all departments of moral reasoning, there are two sides to every question,—there are arguments for, and objections against, every proposition. Our conviction is determined by the preponderance of arguments over objections, or of objections over arguments; and the strength of our conviction depends on the degree of this preponderance. We receive with confidence a proposition, for which we find but few and slender positive arguments, if there be hardly a shadow of objection to it; for this very lack of objections is itself an argument. On the other hand, we receive with great doubt, or utterly reject, a proposition sustained by a great weight of positive argument, if the objections to it are numerous and difficult to be answered. With regard to Christianity, the positive argument in favor of its divine origin approaches as near to demonstration as moral reasoning can; but the actual weight and worth of this argument depend upon the strength or weakness of the counter-argument. If infidelity can indeed make out a strong case, then does the array of argument on the Christian side, overpowering as it seems at first sight, furnish no adequate basis for belief. But if infidelity is shallow and sophistical, if it perpetually repeats itself, if it has conceded separately every point that the Christian claims, then do its weakness and inconsistency add much weight to the positive argument for Christianity. A synoptical view of the history of unbelief is, therefore, essential to the fair, and, we add with gratitude, to the full exhibition of the Christian evidences. Infidelity gains nothing by the mustering of its forces. Bring them together, and they destroy each other.

Before we had read these Lectures of Dr. Palfrey, a friend, who is not much of a reasoner, told us that this work was greatly disfigured by constant references to former lectures, in such forms as the following: "This question I treated at large in a former lecture," — "These objections

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had before been urged by Tindal, and have already received our attention," — "This writer revived and amplified an objection, which I formerly mentioned as having been urged by some of the ancient opponents of the faith." It is a fact, that such forms of speech are very frequent, and that they thicken fast as the work draws to a close. But they occur by no fault of the author. On the other hand, they constitute to a reflecting believer one of the most pleasant features of the work; for they reveal the narrow compass, and the incessant repetition from age to age, of infidel arguments and objections. Indeed, the canon of infidelity was long since closed. Not a single new argument against Christianity has been brought forward for the last two hundred years; and very few new things have been said or written on that side since the days of the Emperor Julian. The French Encyclopædists originated nothing but ribaldry and buffoonery. Rationalistic Germany has done little more than to caricature the Gospels, by employing Hume's heartless, ungodly skepticism in their pseudo-interpretation. Paine simply copied from Voltaire gibes and scoffs, which Voltaire had raked together from ancient kennels both Jewish and Gentile. It is amazing, that, while so many ingenious minds have been employed against Christianity, they should have collected so scanty materials. The testimony against the gospel has been very much like that against its Author and Finisher, when "they sought many witnesses, but found none, till at last they found two witnesses, yet neither did their testimony agree." Indeed, a large part of the literature of infidelity is made up of individual idiosyncrasies,— of objections which grew out of some peculiar bias of the author's own mind, and could have no weight with any other mind. Unbelief has run in an exceedingly narrow cycle, and has been constantly returning upon itself. New books, in its refutation, have for many years been needless. The new infidel publications, that appear from time to time, only need, for their refutation, that we refer to the right page and chapter of works often as old as those of Justin and Origen.

On the other hand, the evidences of Christianity have been accumulating from age to age. Every department of science, every art, every new chapter of human experience, brings its separate contribution of argument or illustration. Geography, philosophy, natural history, psychology, have

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all poured rich and still increasing light upon the Scriptures and their contents. Science has, in numerous instances, attained, in confirmation of revealed religion and its records, results, at which it cavilled in the outset. There are rich and productive veins of Christian evidence, which have just begun to be worked. The argument from the results of Christianity, from its influence on science, art, literature, and human happiness, it would take scores of volumes to write, and, in the rapid vicissitudes, and the unprecedented progress of society, no year now passes without presenting this argument in new aspects. But it has as yet received no systematic treatment, and lies a field fully white for the harvest, to reward the labors of the friends of truth. Judging from the past and the present, we may safely say, that the evidences of Christianity will be continually presented from new points of view, and with an exhaustless affluence of argument and illustration, till the arrival of that yet distant day, when universal faith will make formal proof superfluous.

The concessions of infidels, we next remark, give the Christian all that he claims. We question not that an edifying and useful treatise on the evidences of Christianity might be constructed by putting together those passages of infidel writers, in which they defend some portions of the system, while attacking others, and in which they contend for the validity of some modes of proof, while seeking to invalidate others. We know not any author who has written against Christianity, who has not granted some cardinal point in its favor, either as regards the genuineness of its records, the purity of its morals, the dignity of its Founder's character, or the credibility of some of its doctrines.

This consideration derives additional weight from the fact, that infidels, in general, have made their concessions with regard to those parts of Christianity or its evidences, to which they were respectively the most competent witnesses. Thus the early opposers of Christianity, both Jewish and Gentile, occupied a position eminently favorable to the exposure of error in the alleged facts of the gospel, or of forgery as to its records; and they unanimously admitted the genuineness of those records, and the authenticity of the evangelical narrative as a whole. All the early unbelievers referred to the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, and cited them by name, just as we Christians do now; and they

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have quoted passages various enough and long enough to establish beyond dispute the identity of the books in their hands with our present canonical books. We might extract, from what remains to us of the writings of the unbeliever Celsus alone, a pretty satisfactory compend of gospel history.* Most of these early unbelievers also admitted our Saviour's miracles as unquestionable facts. This, it will be remembered, was the case with our Saviour's most vehement personal enemies among the Jews of his own day. They did not deny that he cast out demons, but reproached him for casting them out through the aid of Beelzebub.† The same ground was generally taken by the pagan adversaries of Christianity. They admitted the preternatural character of Christ's works ; but maintained that he wrought them through magic arts acquired in Egypt. The Jews also, even down to the thirteenth century or later, while, of course, they denied the divine mission of Christ, universally admitted him to have been a great wonder-worker, but ascribed his miracles to magic. This is the story of the Talmuds, and we find it repeated in the Rabbinical writings, from century to century, under two different versions, — the one, that he learned magic in Egypt, the other, that he stole the ineffable name of God from the corner-stone of the temple, and by means of it wrought divine works. Now, what more could the early adversaries of our religion have done for its defence, than to have left on record their clear, full admission of the leading supernatural facts in our Saviour's life ? These facts it behooved them to deny, if they could, and to cast whatever discredit they could upon the books containing them. But they lived too near the times. They could not deny facts, which had engraven themselves so deeply upon the general mind. They could not gainsay records, the marks of whose genuineness were known and read of all men. They resorted, therefore, to that puerile hypothesis of magic, which in those superstitious

* Our theological readers will remember, that Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian are among the foremost witnesses cited in favor of Christianity and its records, in Lardner's " Credibility."

† This statement, indeed, rests, for its authority, on the records whose genuineness is the point in discussion ; but the Evangelists must certainly be allowed, on all hands, to be valid witnesses to reproaches and calumnies, which they quote with manifest mortification, and which, at an age when such charges could find easy credence, they had every worldly motive to suppress.

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ages could find some credence, but which, in our days, only reveals the utter hollowness and absurdity of their unbelief.

Is it asked, What, then, were the chief objections of those early adversaries of Christianity? Many of them were based on the assumed truth of then existing religions, and, of course, have no weight now; for with modern skepticism, the question is not between Christianity and some other religion, but between Christianity and no religion. But many of the objections of early unbelievers were based on essential and immutable features of our religion, and on features, which now, so far from demanding apology, contribute the most largely to its defence and its honor. Things, which were "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness," are now on all hands acknowledged to be full of divine wisdom and beauty. Thus Celsus dwells much on the lowliness of our Saviour's birth, and on the circumstance, that the gospel addresses itself to the poor and humble, — facts, which have so entirely revolutionized the opinions of all Christendom with regard to the accident of birth or outward rank, that no modern infidel would dare to cite them in disparagement of Christianity. The cross was perpetually cast in the teeth of the early Christians; but what Christian now would think of defending the cross, or of making an apology for the prayer, "*Fac me cruce custodiri*"? That, whereon the Man of Sorrows was hung in ignominy, from having been a grievous burden and reproach for ages to his church, has now become the proudest and most cherished of symbols, — sparkles in the diadem of royalty and on the brow of beauty, and claims homage a hundred-fold for the old world's contempt and scorn. And, in this marvellous transfiguration, the cross is a type of numerous features of its own religion, which, in the early ages of the church, were shot at from every quiver, but which are now placed for ever beyond attack and above defence.

In modern times, unbelief has taken a different route. It has confined its objections, for the most part, to the records and the facts connected with Christianity, the evidences of which are buried in remote antiquity; while it has made the largest and most valuable concessions with regard to the practical working of the Christian system, its beneficial tendencies and results, its elevating and reforming influence upon society, — points, of which the early unbelievers were

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incompetent judges, but which sixteen or seventeen centuries of successful experiment have enabled modern infidels to decide satisfactorily. We know not where to look for more eloquent and discriminating testimony to the intrinsic worth and power of our religion, than we might quote from the writings of English and French infidels of the last two centuries. Rousseau, whose name, to almost every ear, is identified with infidelity, in some of his works professes the most enthusiastic veneration for the sacred writings, dilates upon the sanctity of the gospel code of morals, protests against the comparison of the writings of the ancient philosophers with the books of the New Testament, and with passionate eloquence exalts the character of Christ above every other ideal of excellence that man has ever beheld or imagined. He maintained, that the institutions of Christianity ought to be supported at public expense, as the bulwarks of society, and the sources of the most beneficent influence to all classes and conditions of men. The same sentiments, which Rousseau dressed up in the most glowing, moving rhetoric, we find set forth at great length, and with much explicitness of statement, by Woolston, Morgan, and other English infidels, — men who, with consummate inconsistency, first demonstrate, with great show of sincerity, that Christianity is useful and good, pure and true, in its doctrines and its precepts, and then attempt to persuade their readers that it is not a gift of God, and ought by all means to be despised and rejected.

Such are the concessions of infidels in favor of Christianity. "Their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges." The temple of our faith stands entire in strength and beauty, as those enemies testify, each with regard to the portion to which he is a competent witness. Those, who lived near the time when the corner-stone was laid, bear testimony to its depth and firmness; those, who have beheld the finished building (while they question the sufficiency of the foundation, which they must dig deep to see), own its proportions fair, its walls complete in grace and majesty, its altars chaste and venerable, its sanctuary pure and holy. Our adversaries, taken together, make good our cause. They furnish Christianity with a sufficient defence. We need only collect and arrange their admissions, — nothing of our own is wanted to complete the pile of evidence.

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We close our notice of Dr. Palfrey's work, (a notice more brief and cursory than it claims and deserves,) with our sincere thanks for a compend so able, thorough, and scholarly, and with the earnest hope, that other engagements may not permanently alienate him from those departments of Biblical and theological learning, which his accurate habits of thought and a life of diligent and profound study have so admirably qualified him to enrich and adorn.

ART. III. — *Ueber die Moeglichkeit eines zwischen dem deutschen Zoll-Verein und den Vereinigten Staaten von America abzuschliessenden Handels und Schifffahrts-Vertrags.* (On the Possibility of a direct Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the States of the German Tariff-League and the United States of America. "The German Quarterly," of January 1st, 1843.)

THE German Quarterly (*Die Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*) of the 1st of January, 1843, contains an elaborate article in support of certain opinions that coincide in a singular manner with the views expressed by Mr. Webster, at Baltimore, respecting reciprocity treaties, and combating with much energy the particular treaty of commerce and navigation, which now exists between the Hanseatic towns, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, on the one part, and the United States on the other. This reciprocity treaty, the writer declares, has proved entirely illusory in respect to the benefits expected from it for both countries. Germany, he says, secures to her large manufacturing population in Saxony and Westphalia no advantage that is not, by the mere operation of the tariff laws of the United States, equally shared by Great Britain and France; while the United States, by securing the market of the Hanse Towns for their great staples, have not yet gained a *débouché* in Germany. The United States have, by treaty, put the ships of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck on the same footing as their own; but in return, they are not permitted to send their cotton, tobacco, and rice to the States of the German League, except on such terms as the latter may think prop-

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er; and the League, in judging of that propriety, looks to its own interests, and not to those of the Hanse Towns. We fully agree with the writer in the German Quarterly, though we may not share his views in respect to the maritime prospects of Germany.

"Whether Germany, within her present limits," says this writer, "will ever be able to become a maritime power, is a question which has been answered by enthusiasts in the affirmative, which has caused many a sardonic smile to the incredulous and doubtful, and which has been flatly denied by those who seem to be most deeply concerned in the matter. The South of Germany is in favor of a national navy; the North, and especially the States which border on the Baltic and the German Ocean, are against it. The difficulty is supposed to lie in the want of good harbours; but Embden, Brake, and a number of the small ports in the North Sea and the Baltic, might, with very little expense, be made naval stations. Hanover, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Prussia, and the Hanse Towns at the North, and the Austrian ports in the Adriatic Gulf, would give to a united German empire greater maritime advantages than are possessed by France, which, after all, has only the miserable port of Havre de Grâce in the British Channel for its principal Transatlantic trade, and Marseilles on the Mediterranean, which scarcely rivals Trieste, for the trade of the Levant. Germany, united into one nation, in all probability would possess greater advantages for commerce and navigation than any continental power of Europe, and would find in her custom-house regulations a sufficient means of making reprisals for either British, French, or American encroachments. She would then contain an eminently industrious population of nearly sixty-four millions, who, by the exclusion from their markets of any particular kind of foreign merchandise, would be able to obtain from any country such concessions to their commerce and navigation as would comport with their power and dignity."

Such are the political speculations of German writers of the present day. On this side of the Atlantic, we are disposed to ask, — Will the powers of Germany ever be united, and, when so, will they be willing to make a favorable treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States? We think, from present indications, that the chances are in favor of such an event. No other country on earth has felt the evils of internal dissensions more severely than Germany; — none other has, in consequence of its divisions into many in-

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dependent States, been brought so near the verge of destruction. The Germans now understand very well, that the Peace of Westphalia destroyed their national existence, and that, in this age of material philosophy, nothing short of an appeal to the immediate interests of the people and their princes can again unite them. The intended union of the *material* interests of the country, ever since the year 1830, has been used as a check on the democratic tendencies which began to manifest themselves at that period. Here was a common road, on which both the people and their rulers might travel side by side, and, as it was the only one which remained open to them, it was but reasonable to suppose that they would take it.

The mass of the German people looked upon the mere abstract theories promulgated by the French Republicans partly with suspicion and partly with horror; but they easily comprehended the immense advantages to be derived from a firm union among themselves, and from the abolition of the odious excise, which prevented free trade and intercourse between the different States. Louis Philippe gave the world an example of a judicious government. He occupied himself with plans for improving the condition of the middle classes, and, by that means, held both the remnant of the ancient nobles, and the lower orders in subjection. The example was too striking not to be followed in Germany. The education of the Germans had, for many years, been in advance of their physical means and comforts, a position, which, of all others, is most fraught with danger to the happiness and tranquillity of a people. Now was the time to furnish aids to their industry and to improve their social condition. Never was there a period more propitious for the establishment of a peaceful union; and, as if to guaranty a happy issue, two attempts of this sort had already been made and had succeeded. Bavaria and Wurtemberg had formed a commercial league, and the Hanse Towns, with this end in view, had made a proposition to Hanover, Oldenburg, and Hesse Cassel, which, we believe, was accepted, if not actually executed. Prussia at last proposed to place herself at the head of the movement, and, in spite of the political jealousies of the minor States, skilfully fanned and operated on by British and French agents, succeeded in establishing what was then called "The Prussian Tariff-League" (*Der Preussische*

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Zoll-Verein).* Had the British advocates of free trade at that time acted up to their theories, and shown any disposition to treat with the German States on principles of reci-

* For the information of a portion of our readers, we extract from a recent publication of Mr. Macgregor, an English writer of high authority, a brief account of the origin and nature of the German Tariff-League.

"This commercial union is, in fact, purely Germanic. The inconvenience of numerous customs-barriers formed not only impediments of the greatest injury to the national commerce and manufacturing interests of the several States, but the expense of maintaining a multitude of guards to prevent smuggling, and to secure the taxes levied upon commodities, was enormous in proportion to the revenue collected, while the moral effect was, at the same time, exceedingly pernicious.

"The maintaining numerous lines or circles of customs, necessary to secure any revenue from commodities entering or passing through the several small States of Germany, was attended with such grievous inconvenience and expense, that, in 1826, Saxe Weimar, Eisenach, Saxe Coburg, Saxe Gotha, Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Altenburg, Schwartzburg Sonderhausen, Saxe Rudolstadt, Anhalt Dessau, Reuss Schleitz, Reuss Greitz, Reuss Lobenstein Ebersdorf, with a total population of 894,778, entered into an union for a general line of customs-barriers to surround their extreme frontier; and, after deducting the whole expense of collection, to divide the net revenue, arising from the duties thus collected upon the importation or transit of foreign commodities, among the several States, in proportion to the respective population of each.

"This first union, which Prussia did not certainly originate, was called '*Der Mittel Verein*,' and, in April, 1827 and 1828, Bavaria and Wurtemberg joined in a union of customs, with the view of not admitting any except the small States enclosed or partly enclosed within those kingdoms, into the association.

"Eventually, the kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, with Hesse Darmstadt and Hesse Cassel, signed, on the 22d of March, 1833, the celebrated Convention, called the '*Zoll-Verein*,' or Union of Customs, the net revenue of which was to be divided among the several States, strictly in proportion to the numbers of their respective population.

"The Thuringian and other States which had not previously joined, except Baden, Nassau, and Frankfort, signed a Convention of Union with Prussia and the others on the 11th of May, 1833; Nassau and Baden joined on the 12th of May, 1835, and Frankfort united with it in the following year. In 1841, Brunswick and Lippe Schaumberg entered the League, and Luxemburg joined in January, 1842.

"The terms of this union may be stated in few words. A tariff was fixed upon, at which goods brought within the common barrier which enclosed these States should be taxed. Upon the payment of the duties imposed by this tariff at any part of the barrier, the goods were to be permitted to circulate, without further let or charge, throughout all parts of the States lying within the common border.

"A common standard of value was agreed upon, by which all money transactions were to be regulated; and, at the end of the year, the net proceeds received at the common barrier were to be divided between the States which composed the union, according to their respective population.

"The political effect of this union has been to create a perfect fusion of all small and conflicting interests into one grand confederation, having one common interest. By it, Prussia has nationalized in one great union Northern

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procity, it is highly probable that they might have postponed the formation of the League ; but the whole tendency of Germany toward such union was so palpable, that England could not permanently have prevented it.

At first, the liberal Deputies in the Chambers of Wurtemberg and Baden, and, for a while, those of Bavaria also, were opposed to the formation of a commercial union with an absolute power ; but they were soon obliged to yield to the good sense of the community, and more especially of the industrious classes, whose instinctive judgment was much more correct than the philosophical conclusions of the *literati*. In vain did Hofrath Welker declare, in the Chamber of the Grand Duchy of Baden, that "the spinning of cotton and the working of iron did not render a people free." Experience had taught them, that it made them *comfortable*, that it improved the condition of the laborer, raised the rate of interest of the capitalist, and secured to the farmer a better price for his produce. Against such practical lessons, the metaphysical dissertations of political philosophers were as nothing, and only served to bring their theories, and the cause they were advocating, into disrepute. The improvement of the *physical* condition of the people was thus found to be one of the best means of checking the revolutionary tendencies of the age, and, having produced such unexpected results in France, was now seriously taken into consideration

and South Western Germany; she has acquired the friendly disposition of an intelligent moral population ; and, by making the petty sovereignties chiefly dependent for their future revenues on the permanence of the union, she has rendered their fidelity to her in peace and war the future condition on which they can exist as sovereigns.

"It is, indeed, evident, that the spirit and object of this confederation have been to unite and strengthen Germany as one great nation, by throwing down those barricades of material warfare, and of international intercourse, as also the numerous lines of customs and customs-officers, which previously belted every large and petty State in Germany, the removal of which has laid open an uninterrupted intercourse from the frontiers of France and Belgium to those of Austria and Russia, and from the Alps to the Baltic.

"But it is not less in its political than in its commercial features, that the German Union has become a subject of interest to England. By opening to the subjects of its component States a free intercourse with each other, an intercourse which before that time had been vexed and restricted by numerous petty annoyances and fiscal objections, it created for German manufacturers a market of some 27,000,000 consumers, who had before that time been chiefly supplied by the foreigner, and it gave an impetus to national industry, which, from small beginnings, has increased until it has become a formidable rival to the trade of this country [England], and which in many instances it has succeeded in supplanting completely."

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by the different German governments. The *material* welfare of the nation was the *mezzo termine* on which princes and people could meet; political economy became the favorite study of Germany, and, we may say, of the rest of Europe.

The Prussian Tariff-League was at first but an experiment; but it proved so completely successful, that none of the parties thought of separation, after the term of probation had expired. The liberals of Germany perceived, that it was leading much more directly and quickly towards the much-desired union of the country than any political movement they could plan, and the wiser and graver portion of them became its ablest defenders, because it gave them the hope of effecting that union peaceably, without either a foreign war, or an internal revolution. The princes, on the other hand, saw that the Tariff-League became the lightning-rod, that conducted the political electricity, with which the atmosphere of Germany had been charged for nearly half a century, harmless to the ground. For once, there was effected a union of all classes of society for a common end, — a union, the blessings of which were so direct and palpable, that they were not only felt in the country, but also attracted the attention of the neighbouring States. Belgium, Holland, France, and England commenced, in turn, negotiations with the League; the United States alone contented themselves with sending "a tobacco agent," to ascertain whether the different States of the League could not be prevailed on to admit that American staple, and that alone, on better terms.

In the mean while, the Tariff-League has increased so far as to comprise nearly twenty-six millions of people (for we take it for granted, that Prussia, now that her negotiations with Russia have completely failed, will join the League also in behalf of her *eastern* provinces, bordering on the Baltic); and, although now appearing stationary, it is preparing for a still farther expansion toward the shores of the German Ocean. The name of "Prussian" has been changed to that of the "German" Tariff-League (*Deutscher Zoll-Verein*), and it is now clearly ascertained, that its power and influence are such as to enable it, whenever it shall become necessary, to *force* the remaining German States, who have thus far stood aloof, into the union. Brunswick, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort on the

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Main were in this manner obliged to enter it; and the States bordering on the ocean, Oldenburg, Hanover, and the Hanse Towns, became seriously concerned for their commercial independence.

Hanover concluded a separate treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States in 1839. The Hanse Towns, as early as 1827, had, collectively and separately, concluded a reciprocity treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States, which expired in 1839, and has *not* been renewed, but merely suffered to continue; the terms of the treaty specifying, that a year's notice must be given by either party to the other, in case of a disposition to alter or abolish it. The Hanoverian treaty is of no use whatever to this country, except that American vessels, sailing up the Elbe and Weser to Hamburg and Bremen respectively, might come into collision with the authorities of that kingdom, which claims the sovereignty over those rivers, so far as they are within the body of the State. Hanover has no trade with the United States, and the Hanoverian flag is never displayed in our ports; but it is by far the greatest smuggling place of Germany; and the most important *dépôt* of English manufactures. British goods are imported into Hanover for the express purpose of being smuggled into all the States of the League. It is an agricultural country, and its connexion with Great Britain, since the accession of the Elector to the throne of England, has kept it so; but its produce, being of the same kind as that of our Middle and Western States, furnishes no medium of trade or exchange with America. Of the treaty of the United States with the Hanse Towns we shall speak presently; but to understand and appreciate it, it is necessary first to comprehend the position of the Hanse Towns in regard to Germany.

Since the Peace of Westphalia, Germany has been divided into a number of petty States, which, unprotected by a great central power, and equally unable to maintain their independence, were successively obliged to throw themselves into the arms of England, France, or Russia. The Seven Years' War between the Houses of Hapsburg and Brandenburg weakened the influence of Austria as a European power, while the felonious success of Frederic the Great only served to create an *imperium in imperio*, and almost forced the German States to seek alliances with foreign powers. Dur-

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ing the wars of the French Revolution, the left bank of the Rhine was added to France, and the Rhenish Confederation, with Bonaparte at its head, completed the ruin of the Empire. During all that time, the northern provinces of Germany suffered less from the invasion than the south, where the princes themselves seemed at first to favor the design of the French conqueror, and which abounds in strategical positions and commands the road to Italy. The people on the sea-coast were naturally desirous of free trade, and, having no important manufactures of their own, saw in the "Continental System," as established by Napoleon, nothing but the destruction of their commerce. They were, therefore, the natural allies of England, and the Hanse Towns made no scruple, on several occasions, to acknowledge England formally as their patron and protector.

The war of 1812 and 1813 revived the nationality of the Germans. It taught them to fight, side by side, for a common cause; but the Congress of Vienna rather opposed than favored this revival. The Act of Confederation, which was hurried through (not before Napoleon had landed from Elba), established Prussia and Austria as European powers, and destroyed, in the same ratio, the political influence of the minor States. It was an act which provided *tant soit peu* for a German confederate army, — a compact for the defence of their common country, which, however, left the regulation of internal affairs to the management of thirty-four princes and four "free towns," Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and Frankfort on the Main, to which the Congress left their liberty, as Prince Metternich is said to have expressed it, "merely to show, by a practical example, how entirely unfit the Germans were for a free government."

The second peace of Paris was concluded without the mediation of these princes, or these free cities. The minor States of Germany, the Hanse Towns, and the city of Frankfort on the Main were, by this act, ruled out of the list of political powers, and served, from that moment, only to increase the strength and influence of Prussia and Austria. At the German Diet, the minor States were, indeed, represented (the three Hanse Towns and the free city of Frankfort having together *one* vote), but the restored Bourbons did not conclude peace with the *German Confederation;* they negotiated for that purpose with the Plenipotentiaries of Aus-

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tria and Prussia. Neither had the German Confederation, by the very act which gave it existence, acquired the power to declare war or conclude peace. The confederation, therefore, was a mere family compact; because Austria and Prussia, united, had the power of enforcing the obedience of the other less considerable members, by the influence which they exerted as European states.

As long as the elder line of Bourbons governed in France, the Austrian-French alliance, which had been forced upon Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna as a *pis aller*, was sufficient to secure to Germany that repose which acted so beneficially on her industry, and was so entirely consonant with the general characteristics of her people. "Germany is sleeping," said Heine, the expatriated German author; and Menzel, the historian, answered, "A very healthy and refreshing sleep." But the year 1830 ushered a new order of things into existence. The increased dangers of war called for a stronger organization, and made the consolidation of the different German States not only desirable, but absolutely necessary. The eyes of the people naturally turned toward Prussia. The possession of the Rhenish provinces makes Prussia the vanguard of Germany; while Austria, from her eastern position, and the necessity of defending Italy, was less calculated, at that moment, to inspire the Germans with confidence.

During the excitement which continued from 1830 to 1840, the Prussian Tariff-League gained so much popularity and strength, that the States composing it, who, according to the original stipulation had reserved for themselves the right to withdraw from it, at the termination of a certain period, gave up all thoughts of separation, and the people themselves became accustomed to consider it as the legitimate and ruling power in the country. The League became the third power of Germany, and, in spite of the opposition of orthodox writers, not only a commercial, but a *political* one. In it, the minor States of Germany, who had been neglected in the political confederation, were truly represented, and, what is still more worthy of note, two of the most important factors of civilized life, industry and commerce, entered into that representation. The Tariff-League represented the *tiers état* of the Germans in its mildest and most loyal form, which a natural instinct taught the people to cultivate as the surest means of advancing their most precious interests.

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A great accession of strength, through the force of public opinion, was gained by the League in 1840, from the bravado of M. Thiers. The warlike demonstration made by the French premier, on the occasion of the British fleet sailing for Saint Jean d'Acre, raised a storm of indignation in Germany, and especially in the States of the League, bordering on France ; where, in addition to the large levy of troops by the government, the peasantry seemed to be ready to take up arms to repel the invaders. The attitude of the Rhenish provinces convinced the French radicals, that they had nothing to hope from the democratic sympathies of the Germans ; while, at the same time, it convinced Prussia and Austria, that they had found the true talisman for securing the affection of the people. The fear of war subsided with the accession of the Guizot ministry ; but the political impulse Germany had received awakened too many latent sympathies not to be felt in its remotest consequences. From that time, Prussia, which had heretofore been the soul of the League, lost her controlling influence ; the union, as we remarked above, was baptized " the *German* League," and as such, was advocated by nearly all the available talent of the country. The press, with the Augsburg Gazette for its leader, urged the union of all the German States into one great commercial and manufacturing league, and denounced, in no equivocal terms, those who, from selfish motives, or from taking a narrow, circumscribed view of their immediate interests, still refused to join the already powerful confederacy. From reproaches, they proceeded to threats of coercion, and from the advocacy of a mere union of customs, to that of an independent national policy. Germany was to have a national commerce, a national industry, a national flag, and a national navy. Even colonies were thought of ; and, for this purpose, negotiations were set on foot with the English South-Sea Company for the acquisition of the Chatham Islands. This project failed, however, in consequence of Sir Robert Peel's refusing to cede the sovereignty of the Islands ; but the others, to use a well known American phrase, " are still in a successful course of experiment."

What the States of the League wanted, and still want, is the sea coast, — not so much that of the Baltic, as of the German Ocean. On this ocean lie the two greater German commercial cities, Hamburg and Bremen. An at-

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tempt was made to persuade or compel these cities to join the League; but as the small territories of these Hanse Towns are completely enclosed by the States of Oldenburg and Hanover, and as Oldenburg is itself surrounded by Hanover, the attempt was first made to induce the latter State to join it; because, in that case, the Hanse Towns would be so completely surrounded by the custom-houses of the League, and their commerce subjected to such onerous exactions, that they would be obliged to sue for admission, on such terms as the League might propose, in order to prevent the trade of Germany from following exclusively the course of the Rhine or the Danube, and thereby making the Dutch city of Rotterdam, and the French town of Havre, the principal German ports of entry.

Such, then, is the precarious position of the Hanse Towns. They have not, as we have shown, a particle of political sovereignty, independent of the Germanic Confederation, or rather of Prussia and Austria, and their commercial liberty is threatened by the League of Customs. And yet, these cities, with a population not amounting jointly to that of New York or Philadelphia, have concluded a treaty of commerce and navigation with this country, *on principles of perfect reciprocity*, — that is, *reciprocity on one side*.

The United States, on treating with the Hanse Towns, did not take into consideration the Tariff-League, which, at the time of the conclusion of the treaty, was in its infancy, and probably imagined, that, by obtaining the trade of the most important seaports of Germany, the trade of the whole country was permanently secured. The government of this country did not consider, that Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck were not *German ports of entry*; that these towns were only bound to respect the decrees of the Germanic Confederation so far as the general politics of Germany were concerned, and to furnish, in case of an emergency, their quota of troops; but that their municipal regulations were widely different from those of the other German States; and that, as far as their foreign commerce is concerned, an article which is admitted at a mere nominal rate of duty into Bremen or Hamburg, may still be contraband at a distance of five miles from the gates of either of these cities. A treaty of reciprocity presupposes, that one nation gives to the other an *equivalent* for the favors granted it; but in the

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case of the United States and the Hanse Towns, no such equivalent is even contemplated. The Hanse Towns have no right to treat for the States of the League, and, *at home*, disclaim all and every connexion with them; though, in their treaties with foreign countries, they always introduce a clause "favorable to the *manufactures* of the States of the Confederation." Without this clause, which enables them to make an *outward freight*, their vessels, notwithstanding their cheap construction and navigation, would not be able to compete with those of the United States, and Germany proper would not be cut off from all direct intercourse with America. As it is, ship-building being much less expensive, and seamen's wages less by one third, than in the United States, the ships of the Hanse Towns can carry our produce at a less rate than our own vessels, which, in three cases out of four, are obliged to return from those ports in ballast. But we are afraid we have already anticipated our conclusions.

We have thus far spoken only of the *moral* effects of the League on Germany, principally to show that it is not likely to be ephemeral. The League is based on the necessities of the country. It is an easy, effectual, and cheap method of creating a revenue; and it is an efficient conductor of the democratic electricity, by supplying what we venture to call "the ideal wants" of the people, and directing that powerful fluid into a legitimate channel. But in proportion as the League promises to be permanent, it becomes the duty of other governments not to suffer themselves to be entangled with treaties with those German States, which, from their disconnexion with it, are unable to offer an equivalent for the concessions made to them, or whose position is such, that they may, at any time, be absorbed by the League. The Hanse Towns, when urged to join the association, had repeatedly answered, that, as single towns, foreign nations — thereby especially alluding to the United States — have made such concessions to them as all Germany would not have been able to obtain. The Hanse Towns, it was argued, are small, and on that account their acts are not so easily observed as the acts of a great nation. The interest of England is naturally concerned in maintaining this separate relation of the Hanse Towns, which serve as *dépôts* for her manufactures. A late number of the London Times

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actually went so far as to speak of the city of Hamburg as a British ally. But the Germans in the interior — we mean the twenty-six millions who are about to form the League — have a very different opinion on the subject. We here quote from the writer in the German Quarterly.

"Germany possesses all the requisites of an independent, national, commercial, and manufacturing policy; and would, united, certainly be able to secure a proper respect for a common German flag. *The considerations now shown to the Hanse* Towns are considerations not for *them* alone, but for Germany, to which they belong, — for the Germanic Confederation, which protects them. In all their treaties with foreign powers, the Hanse Towns have, with much tact, remembered the States of the German Confederation, and claimed for their own ships, and the produce of the latter, the terms of the most favored nations. Had the Hanse Towns claimed those terms on their own account, — in their real capacity, as mere carriers and brokers between Germany and the transatlantic States, — it is more than probable, that these terms would not have been granted to them."

And in urging a direct trade and treaty between the States of the German Tariff-League and the United States of America, he says:

"Germany has, unlike all other commercial nations, this peculiarity in common with the United States, that neither of them has colonies commanding its especial consideration and protection in the conclusion of international treaties. Both are free to give to their commerce and to their industry that direction which appears to be best calculated to advance the prosperity of their respective citizens. Neither of them need restrict its commerce or manufactures, to reconcile the interests of distant colonies, or to adapt the condition of colonies to the mother country. This is a great advantage, which Germany will possess, in all future negotiations, over England, France, Holland, Spain, or Portugal, and which must not be overlooked in treating, at some future day, with the United States of America."

"But," continues the writer, "although the United States possess no colonies, they produce a variety of colonial articles, which circumstance makes them not only, in a great measure, independent of European colonies, but also furnishes them with the means of exchanging their produce for European manufactures. We speak here of their enormous production of cotton and tobacco, to which may be added, in the extreme South, that

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of rice, sugar, and indigo. The crop of cotton amounts yearly, on an average, to more than two millions of bales, and is greater than the whole cotton production of all other countries of the globe taken together. It gives to the Americans a commercial capital of eighty millions of dollars; and this enormous product might, under favorable circumstances, be increased to double the amount. Until now, the quantity of cotton imported into Germany, directly from the United States, is certainly small; because Germany imports annually sixty million pounds of twist from England; but thanks to German enterprise and the perseverance of German manufacturers, there is sufficient reason to believe, that this species of English carrying-trade, by which Germany not only loses the value of the labor of spinning, but also a proportionate share of the direct trade with America, will soon cease, through the protection which the Tariff-League will grant to the German spinners,* and make room for a direct intercourse between the German manufacturer and the American producer."

The writer then shows the folly committed by the German States in taxing, to so great an extent, American tobacco, and in attempting to produce it at home. Twenty-five thousand hogsheads of tobacco are, on an average, brought annually to Bremen, and thence sold, principally to Germany. Two or three times that quantity might be consumed, and a corresponding quantity of German manufactures taken in exchange by America, if the different German governments would not make a monopoly of the tobacco trade, and if the greater part of the profits of this trade did not remain exclusively in the Hanse Towns. The Hanse merchants naturally take a commission from the producer and the consumer, — from the United States and from Germany, — and are thus doubly paid for acting as brokers between them. The argument of the writer in the Quarterly is unquestionably correct. Let any city, favorably situated for commerce, be made a *dépôt* for merchandise, let its citizens purchase whatever and wherever they please, and sell, in the same manner, to any people who are willing to purchase of them, and goods will maintain prices, or be bought and sold cheaper than in other places, as it may suit

* This prediction has since been verified by the levying of an additional duty on English twists.

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the purpose of the merchants. When Holland was the grain magazine of Europe, that most important article was sold cheaper in Amsterdam than where it grew, and was abundant in every part of the republic, when famine ravaged the adjacent provinces of Germany and France. A league of isolated towns is still better for commercial purposes. Their career not being checked by considerations of national policy, and their expenses of government being comparatively small, they are, as regards commerce, on a far better footing than the inhabitants of a commercial city, subject to the regulations of a great country. Under the doctrine of free trade and international reciprocity, the isolated town possesses greater advantages than the largest emporium of the largest empire.

The writer in the German Quarterly then discusses at length the propriety of concluding a treaty of commerce and navigation between the League and the United States, and thereby trading directly with America, and protecting the States of Germany from the ruinous manufacturing competition of England. It is in vain, he argues, to expect reciprocity from England, at least, so far as Germany is concerned. The United States, from their enormous extent and large consumption of British manufactures, stand a far better chance; though even they have to give up the idea of reciprocity, as far as navigation is concerned. Sir Robert Peel's sliding scale shows it. The Canadian wheat is admitted at such rates, that the German wheat-growers cannot compete with it in price, while the Eastern States of the Union are prevented from carrying it by sea to the Canadian provinces. England, it is very clear, will only make such concessions as will suit her purposes. Had she made the same proposition to the German agriculturists twelve years ago, which she is now offering them, she might have checked, for a while at least, the progress of manufactures in Germany; but now, says the writer in the German Quarterly (and he is powerfully supported by Nebenius, Counsellor of State and former Secretary of State of the Grand Duchy of Baden*), the German League knows its

* *Der Deutsche Zoll-Verein, sein System und seine Zukunft, von Fr. Nebenius*, 1843. (The German Tariff-League, its System and its Prospects, by Fr. Nebenius.)

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importance, and will be able to guard against the English doctrines of free trade. Germany is not in a position similar to that of the United States. Her soil and her productions are limited. She is, therefore, obliged to create a manufacturing power, as a new means of national wealth and revenue. Free trade between England and Germany would ruin these manufactures, and it will therefore be necessary to increase the duty on English twists and iron, in proportion as the British Corn Laws are modified, and perhaps to prohibit them entirely, in case England should abolish these laws altogether. These notions, it may be well to add, are systematically defended in the "Journal of the German Tariff-League," a weekly periodical published at Stuttgart, and edited by Professor List, American Consul to Wurtemberg, whose late work on "The National System of Political Economy, International Commerce, and Commercial Polity," apart from the theory it strives to establish, is remarkable as an exponent of popular feeling, and as a proof of the increased attention paid in Germany to a department of knowledge, which, heretofore, had been confined exclusively to the Universities. It furnishes conclusive evidence, that the public mind is strongly excited by these topics, and corroborates what we stated above; that the League is fast becoming the representative of the *tiers état* of Germany.

In the opinion of the writer in the German Quarterly, the United States present to all commercial nations, but especially to Germany, four incalculable advantages; namely, first, an extensive territory, with but few or no restrictions on the commerce of foreigners; secondly, a steadily growing population, with a regularly increasing consumption; thirdly, a vast amount of produce for exportation; and, fourthly, the absence of colonies, a circumstance which tends to facilitate all direct intercourse with foreign nations. He then speaks of the laudable efforts already made by the late American tobacco-agent in Germany, toward opening a more direct intercourse between the States of the League and the United States; which efforts, in his opinion, must fail, so long as America is willing to treat with one or more detached towns; and at last, he indirectly answers the letter of Baron Roenne, the late Prussian Minister, to Mr. Jenifer,

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which appeared in the National Intelligencer of February 4th, 1842, in which the renewal of the treaty with the Hanse Towns was strongly urged on the consideration of our federal government. The writer concludes his paper in these terms, the extreme moderation of which was probably dictated by the high official standing of the party, as the Minister Plenipotentiary of the first power of the League, or, perhaps, *enforced* by the censor.

"We refrain from all criticism on the style and reasoning, or on the motives which may have induced the Royal Prussian Minister in Washington to address such a letter to one who was then a member of Congress, as if for publication. We might have summed up its whole contents in a few words; but we considered such a document as by far too important not to be placed *in extenso before our readers. The most important consequence to us is* the proof, which it furnishes, of the consideration bestowed in a high place on the growing importance of the German trade to the United States, and its influence on the material interests of the Tariff-League. That the same subject may admit of many different views and theories is natural. The duty of the press consists in submitting both theories and motives to the appellate jurisdiction of the public, before they are ultimately disposed of by the highest tribunal of the land. We do not object to the *data* furnished by the Prussian minister. They are mainly our own, or agree with the facts alleged by ourselves; but they appear to us to justify an entirely different conclusion from the one which the minister has drawn from them. Baron Roenne acknowledges, too, the advantages of a direct trade between Germany and the United States; the only question, therefore, is this: Does the direct trade consist in two or three cities enjoying the exclusive privilege of exchanging the products of two of the largest countries on the globe; or rather, in permitting all the German States, without distinction, to participate in this exchange, in the same manner as all the States of the Union participate equally in the commerce of America? We put this question as Southern Germans, without undervaluing the generosity of the greatest Northern power (Prussia), manifested in the above document. Baron Roenne praises the merchants of the Hanse Towns justly, while, at the same time, he reminds them of the fact, that, separated from Germany, they are powerless. He tells even the Americans, that the root of the Hanse Towns is in Germany, and that the concessions made to them ought to be made *in consideration of the extent and power of Germany*, to which they belong. This generosity is, perhaps, intended to

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put the obstinate opponents of the League in the Hanse Towns to the blush."

To understand fully the position which Prussia occupies in reference to the Tariff-League and to this country, and the corresponding diversity of feeling between the North and South of Germany, we must yet allude to the material changes which the League has produced in the condition of the German States. The most important of them is the increased demand for labor, and the consequently higher price of it,—in other words, the amelioration of the condition of the laboring classes. No sooner was the League in operation, than the free exchange of commodities between the States increased the commerce, and with it the manufactures, of Germany. Cotton manufactories and iron founderies sprang up in various parts of the country, and the nobles and mediatized princes themselves took part in the national enterprise. But in one respect, Prussia and all the Northern States of Germany were disappointed.

It was thought, that the Southern States, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and others, whose soil is fertile and whose population is principally agricultural, would become consumers of Northern manufactures in exchange for their own staples, wine, cattle, and grain. In this, however, they were mistaken. The impulse communicated to the domestic industry of Germany was so great, as to induce the Southern provinces themselves to establish manufactories, — some of them with a capital of half a million, and even a million, of dollars, — which not only answered the purpose of immediate consumption, but furnished the basis of an active commerce with the other States. Taxes being generally less, provisions cheaper, and water-power in greater abundance in the Southern provinces, the people of the South required but little stimulus to develope their manufacturing industry; and besides, they had no difficulty in procuring workmen, as the neighbouring French province of Alsace, which teems with cotton manufactories, furnished any required number on the most reasonable terms. In this manner, it was soon ascertained, the advantages of the League turned greatly in favor of the Southern States, which, for this very reason, contributed least to the common revenue raised by customs, and divided annually, in proportion to their respective population, among the different States.

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One of the chief sources of revenue in all countries is the duty on sugar and coffee. In the North of Germany, the consumption of these colonial articles, as also that of tea, is very great ; while, in the Southern provinces, tea and coffee are luxuries, only known to the higher classes. In Bavaria, beer, in Wurtemberg, Baden, and the Rhenish provinces, wine, takes the place of these beverages, so that the duty on those articles is in a far greater ratio borne by the North, while it proves equally a source of revenue to the Southern provinces, where it partly supersedes the necessity of direct taxation. It is computed, that Prussia contributes, in this manner, annually, between one and one and a half millions of Prussian dollars towards the expenses of the Southern governments, which also maintain comparatively small armies ; while Prussia, as a European power, based on its military development, maintains a proportionably larger army than either England, France, or Russia. The Tariff-League, therefore, so far as mere pecuniary advantages are concerned, is a *loss* to Prussia, and a signal advantage to the Southern States.

This position of the League accounts for the fact, that the Southern States of Germany have, of late, been most clamorous for its extension, and most reproachful in their language towards the States of the North, especially the Hanse Towns, which are still keeping up their separate organization. The Southern manufacturers soon discovered, that they were not only protected by the tariff, but also by the greater cheapness of all the necessaries of life ; and, in addition to this, by the great distance from the seaports ; because, as far as the home market is concerned, the cost of freight is in their favor. Nothing, therefore, was more natural, than that the manufacturing interests of the Southern States should be strongly represented in the Chambers, and that the Southern princes themselves should thereby be forced specially to protect them. The princes who had refused so many supplications for the liberty of the press, the trial by jury, and other liberal measures, could acquire popularity by the promotion of the physical welfare of the people, and thereby more effectually keep all other questions in abeyance.

The Southern States of Germany, therefore, who at first were the greatest antagonists of the League, became now its most ardent supporters, and urged the States of Hanover,

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Oldenburg, and the Hanse Towns to join it, so as to enable Germany to adopt some general commercial policy, and to extend her commerce and manufactures beyond the sea. But Prussia, who had given the first impulse to the League, was not willing to extend its blessings, without a consideration, to any other than the States bordering on the North Sea. Her own seaports, Schwineminde and Königsberg, were on the Baltic, and must become worthless for Germany, if Hamburg, Bremen, Stade, and Embden should join the union of customs. The Northeastern provinces of Prussia, moreover, never depended much on the trade with Germany. Their commerce was with the Northern States, Sweden, Denmark, and principally Russia. Prussia, therefore, was apprehensive lest the States of the League should demand concessions in that quarter, which it would not be for the interest of those provinces to grant, or which would cause reprisals on the part of Russia. The latter country has made the most strenuous efforts to introduce and encourage domestic manufactures, in which the first nobles of the Empire are now most actively engaged. The Russian tariff is almost prohibitory, many articles, particularly those of German manufacture, being entirely excluded. The heaviest penalties are inflicted on the smugglers, who are without ceremony banished to Siberia ; and the carrying-trade, formerly entirely in the hands of the Northern Germans, is, by the late Russian ukases, almost annihilated. Great efforts were made by Prussia to obtain a change in this part of the policy of her northern neighbour ; but in vain. Even the visit of the King of Prussia to England did not terrify the Emperor of Russia, who pursued his policy with a steady hand, unmindful of the League, the christening of the Prince of Wales, and the Cabinet of Berlin. Shortly after the return of the King of Prussia from England, he went to St. Petersburg ; but his visit to the Imperial family, owing to unforeseen circumstances, which threatened to become serious, and which do not here admit of an *éclaircissement*, was entirely unsuccessful, and he was obliged precipitately to return, without having made the least progress in the contemplated negotiations for a treaty. All subsequent attempts to effect the same object failed ; and yet Prussia has to this moment abstained from proposing retaliatory measures to the League.

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The same vacillating policy was pursued by Prussia toward England and Belgium. With the latter country a treaty of commerce and navigation was at one time in serious contemplation, while the example of the Duchy of Luxembourg seemed to justify the hope, that Holland itself would join the League. While, however, the negotiations were pending, and while Prussia was coquetting with England and Russia, the treaty between France and Belgium was concluded, which, very fortunately for the manufacturers of Germany, put at rest all further notions of extending the League in that quarter.

Prussia has since been oscillating again between England and Russia, but seeing no prospect of an advantageous arrangement with Russia, inclines now in favor of England. The first step in that direction was the above-mentioned letter, written by Baron Roenne, minister resident from Prussia, in Washington, to Mr. Jenifer. In that letter, Baron Roenne labored hard to prove, that the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Hanse Towns operates equally both ways, and that what the Americans lose in the freight they gain in the advanced prices on their staples. The Baron also maintains, that the decrease in the American trade with those towns is a natural consequence of the peace, and threatens the United States, in case they should refuse to renew the treaty, with differential duties to be levied by the League on American produce. It is this letter, as we remarked above, which the writer in the German Quarterly exposes, as an attempt on the part of Prussia rather to check than to extend the League, contrary to the interests of the Southern States and the Rhenish provinces. The Hanse Towns are *dépôts* of English manufactures, and, so long as they remain as they are, British goods will be sure of finding a market in Germany. In the same manner, as long as the American treaty with the Hanse Towns lasts, there is no possibility of the States of the League having any direct intercourse with the United States; so that neither the merchants nor the manufacturers of the League desire the continuance of that treaty.

In like manner, the manufacturers of the League, as we before remarked, have insisted on an additional duty on English twists and iron; but the *opposition of Prussia* to this salutary measure has, until lately, frustrated their design.

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The additional duty on British goods, the manufacturers argue, would not only protect German industry, but would enable Germany to obtain the raw material directly from America. These views are strongly pressed by the Southern writers, but are equally strenuously opposed by Prussia, until, at last, the views of that power have become an object of suspicion with the Southern States. Austria has taken advantage of the schism, and, if we mistake not, with some success.

The threat of a differential duty, made use of in Baron Roenne's letter, is preposterous. Goods and produce are imported into Germany, not only through the Hanse Towns, but also through Holland, France, and Austria by the way of Trieste. How could the American staples be recognized, when coming from either of those countries? What would the States of the League gain by levying an additional duty on American cotton, which they must have, and which they cannot afford purchasing at a higher rate without standing in the light of their own manufactures?

Again; the Hanse Towns cannot, as mere brokers and carriers, levy an additional duty on American staples, which would only tax their own commerce for no purpose in the world. The rate of duty on all foreign goods and produce without distinction is, by the *municipal law* of Bremen, fixed at one third of one *per cent. ad valorem*, and this rate has not been altered in reference to goods or produce imported from Spain or her colonies, although the Spaniards have levied a differential duty of nine *per cent. ad valorem* on the goods imported in the vessels of the Hanse Towns. It is the consumer who pays the duty; and, as the Hanse merchants are mere buyers and sellers, they cannot levy additional duties, without destroying, in the same ratio, their commercial prosperity. If Bremen levy an additional duty on American tobacco, that article will be imported into Amsterdam or Rotterdam for the German market, and it will be Bremen, and not the United States, which will suffer from the measure. But to return to Austria.

The influence which Prussia had gained over the States of Germany, and especially those of the South, had justly excited the jealousy of Austria, which, until then, had been considered as the protector of those provinces, partly from position, and partly from historical associations. Austria had expressed a wish to join the League, but was refused, under

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the pretext that she had not yet a uniform tariff within her own provinces, and that it would be useless for the League to treat with her German provinces only, independently of Hungary, Gallicia, and Italy. This latter declaration was any thing but gratifying to the Southern States of the League, who had hoped, by the annexation of Austria, to have the Levant trade and the Mediterranean opened to them, and who, in the mutual jealousy of Austria and Prussia, would have found an additional safeguard for their own independence. The advocates of the union of Germany, from political motives, were also much disappointed in seeing the most powerful State excluded; while Austria herself, far from being discouraged by this first refusal, has since used every laudable effort, not only to put her commercial and manufacturing policy in that state which will render it the interest of the League to propose terms of accommodation, but also to make an amelioration in the condition of her provinces, and introduce into them that degree of harmony, which will enable her to make a treaty for all. In the mean while, no part of Germany is provided with better means of communication; the system of Austrian rail-roads, which will connect Leipsic and Berlin with Vienna, the Danube, and the Adriatic Gulf, being probably the most comprehensive of any on the continent of Europe. When the Polish, Italian, German, Bohemian, and Hungarian rail-roads shall be completed, Austria will present such inducements to the German States to unite with her in the League, that the counter efforts of Prussia, if such should still be made, would necessarily be unavailing.

As to Hanover, she has lately positively declined to join the League, the King having, at the same time, pledged his oath of allegiance to the British crown, as a peer of the realm. The claims of the blind crown prince, however, who, by the letter of the constitution, is incapable of inheriting the crown, are of so slender a nature, that it can hardly be doubted, that he will try to strengthen them by seeking an alliance with the League. In this case, the Hanse Towns, as we have shown above, must necessarily follow; so that the time may not be distant, when all Germany will be united, at least commercially, into one nation.

We are fully aware, that such a union is still looked upon as chimerical by those whose interest it is to prevent it; but

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the gravitation of Germany is that way; the manufacturing and commercial policy of the country demand it; public opinion, with a few interested exceptions, has pronounced itself strongly in its favor; and the political condition of the country is such, that, without union, it is idle to suppose, that Germany will ever have a national existence, or be able to maintain even the *status quo*. With powerful empires to the east and west of her, nothing but union can maintain the integrity of her provinces, or afford protection to her industry, her commerce, and her independence. The truth of these remarks has at no time been felt more strongly in Germany than at this moment, when it is reiterated in a hundred journals, until it has become familiar to the most ordinary capacity; and what a whole nation wills is seldom, for any length of time, refused by her rulers. There may be objections to the union now, but time will overcome them; especially when some publicists, of more imagination than experience, who would give that union a particular political complexion, shall have perceived the errors of their way, and the impracticability of those institutions which they press with so much enthusiasm and so little discretion on a people who are, by habit, education, and temper, entirely unfitted for them. These fanatics have been in the habit of despairing of their country, whenever the sober realities of life dissipated their *beau idéal* of government; and yet, in the long catalogue of improvements which have taken place in Germany since the last war, not one can be traced to their agency. The political and social development of Germany is necessarily a slow one, and it is fortunate for her that it is so. A nation, whose history extends back for two thousand years, cannot easily lend herself to a new experiment, or change at once her domestic policy. That a most important change *has* taken place, no one can doubt; and the United States will do well to watch it, so as to be ready for action whenever the extension of the Tariff-League shall have rendered a direct intercourse between Germany and America possible. The former country, in that case, will be more ready to treat with the United States than with any other nation; and the struggle for commercial and manufacturing independence of Great Britain, which has lately manifested itself at the Congress of the League, at Stuttgart, properly nursed by "The Journal of the League," will be no unimportant

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auxiliary in the negotiations commenced for that purpose. A treaty with the United States would be popular throughout Germany; that with England was assailed by the whole German press, and was consequently abandoned.

ART. IV. — 1. *Geschichte der Poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen, von* G. G. GERVINUS. Zweite umgearbeitete Ausgabe. Drei Bände. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1840–2. (*A History of the (Early) Poetical Literature of the Germans.* By G. G. GERVINUS. Second revised Edition. Three Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1606.)

2. *Neuere Geschichte der Poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen, von* G. G. GERVINUS. Zwei Bände. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1840–2. (*A History of the Modern Poetical Literature of the Germans.* By G. G. GERVINUS. Two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1379.)

IN these five large octavos is contained the history of the poetical literature of Germany, from the time of the ancient bards mentioned by Tacitus, down to the death of Goethe. The subject is a great one. It comprises whatever the Muse has sung, during a period of more than a thousand years, in that broad land which lies between the Rhine and the Vistula, the Danube and the Baltic, — the songs of the bards of heathen antiquity, the Christian poesy of knight, monk, and burgher in the middle ages, and the immortal productions of the great masters of modern verse.

To the accomplishment of his task the author has brought no ordinary qualifications. He exhibits the extensive and profound erudition, the historical faculty of bringing past and remote states of society near, and projecting the present into the distance, and the philosophical insight into the distinguishing features of individuals, communities, and epochs, which so favorably characterize the recent historiography of the Germans. He has evidently studied not only the poetry of Germany, but that of the other contemporary European, not to add Asiatic, nations; and has made himself acquainted

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with the progress of the kindred arts, and the other departments of letters. No parade, however, is made of his learning; the results of investigation are given, not the processes. Elaborate in its style without being pedantic, rich in significant facts and instructive principles, and free from the details of minute criticism, the work of Gervinus has a higher artistic merit than is usually found in the productions of his countrymen.

We should do our author little honor by instituting a comparison between his labors and those of his predecessors in this department of literary effort. Less brilliant, indeed, than the author of "German Literature," he is, however, less prejudiced and less egotistical; is sounder in principle, more profoundly learned, and more classical in taste. He has written a purely historical, and not, like those who preceded him, an æsthetical work; he has also avoided the common fault of overrating the early poetry of the Germans, in comparison with that of recent times. He has contemplated the progress of poetry from a new point of view, showing what part his countrymen have taken in restoring the pure forms and unconscious spirit of those early days, when Homer, Pindar, and Sophocles sang from the pure love of song, and before the prevalence of philosophy throughout Greece, by developing the reflective powers of the national mind, had infused the sentiments of the schools into the measures of poesy.

In attempting to give our readers some account of this elaborate work, we shall follow quite closely in the track of the author, expressing his opinions rather than our own, and adopting even his language and illustrations when it suits our purpose, though with such modifications that it may not be proper to mark the passage as an extract.

The earliest German ballads have been lost; but there is sufficient reason for believing, that the infancy of this, as of every other nation, — including even the degraded tribes of Africa and the rude natives of Kamtschatka, — was delighted and instructed by songs. Tacitus alludes to old ballads, in which the earth-born Tuisco, and Mannus, his son, were celebrated as the founders of the German race; and makes mention of the *barritus*, or discordant chant accompanied by the clashing together of many bucklers, which inflamed the souls of the warriors on the eve of battle. The bards re-

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corded in song all public transactions, related in succession the names of their kings, and sang the praises of heroes like Hercules and Arminius. The gift of song does not appear, however, to have been confined to any distinct class of persons, but to have been enjoyed by the people at large. If there were wandering minstrels, who gained a livelihood by the use of the lyre, they were probably not numerous, and their vocation was held in but little esteem. Unlike the Grecian, the German warriors all joined in the battle chant and pæan. No priestly order, like the Druids of Gaul, taught in hymns the fables of their mythology ; but, as in modern times, the whole people were the guardians of poetry and song, always more universally popular in this than in any other nation of modern Europe.

The poetry of the German bards can bear no comparison with that of the early Greeks. No song of Sirens was ever heard by the rude voyagers of the Suevian Sea. No Orpheus of the North ever softened the ferocity of Teutonic boars and bears, or drew after him the rocks and trees of the Hercynian forest. Nor could the Germans, situated in a temperate clime, and amid natural scenery of a mild and simple character, have breathed into their early poetry the fiery passions of the Arabians, inhabiting the burning sands of the desert, or the sublime conceptions of the Scandinavians, surrounded by their tempestuous seas, widely-spread snow-plains, and rugged mountains. In this central region, early fable and mythology received more of a historical and humane character ; while, during the endless nights of the North, the imagination peopled the darkness with gigantic and superhuman shapes, and beneath the resplendent skies of the South, the fancy revelled in fictions the most fantastic and gorgeous. The life of the German being one of rapine and war, his songs were imbued with the spirit of revenge and daring, with the love of the ruder virtues, and the veneration of supernatural divinities, with praises of the steed, the bow, the shield, and the spear. War, in fact, was the burden of song in the heroic age, as love afterwards was in that of chivalry.

The regular growth of the early song and tradition of the Germans was checked by their numerous migrations, and their prolonged wars with the Roman Empire. Movements so stupendous must have absorbed all the interests

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and energies of the barbarian tribes who took part in them. The foundations of society were broken up, whole nations changed their dwelling-places, ancient tribes were dissolved and new ones created, and the languages, laws, and usages of the people were either greatly modified or entirely destroyed. Amid this wild confusion of marching nations, the sweet voices of the ancient bards could no longer be heard. Tribes passed away whose exploits were never chronicled; heroes lived and died, unsung; and the names of few chieftains, except those of Attila and Theodoric, were rescued from unmerited oblivion by the lyre.

With the introduction of Christianity, the heathen bards, who had celebrated the exploits of Hermann and Velida, of Attila and Theodoric, gave place to the ecclesiastical poets, who reduced to verse the legends of the saints and the narratives of the New Testament. They used not the vernacular language of Germany, but the Latin tongue of the more enlightened South; and, instead of the alliteration of the bardic songs, introduced the rhyme of modern poetry. The love of letters was confined to the clerical order, even down to the expiration of the Frankish dynasty; but as the cloister was more serviceable in preserving the treasures of classic learning, and in promoting those abstract studies which require seclusion from the disturbing influences of society, than in the cultivation of the art of poetry, which is best learned in the midst of men and the stirring events of real life, we find at the present day not so much poetical, as linguistic merit in these effusions of the sacerdotal muse. It should be added, however, that the Æsopic fables of those times, particularly the "Reinhart Fuchs," are not destitute of poetical merit.

The next great event which materially influenced the literature of Germany was the beginning of the Crusades. This great struggle between Mohammedanism and Christianity, together with the extinction of the Celtic nations, and the discovery both of the New World and the passage by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, brought to a close the dominion of barbarian heroism and classic culture over Europe, and ushered in the reign of Christian sentiment and modern ideas. The knowledge of foreign life and literature, introduced among the Germans by intercourse with the inhabitants of distant countries, elevated the character of the

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clerical order, placed the lyre in the hands of some of the most famous heroes of the Crusades at the same time with the sword, and at length wrested from the priesthood the privilege they had enjoyed since the introduction of Christianity, of retaining among themselves exclusively the cultivation of letters. The poetical use of the vernacular tongue, instead of the Latin, was restored; and what was before read from the books of the learned was now heard from the lips of knights and princes.

Christianity, which at a later period exerted a powerful effect in developing the imagination and the understanding of the Germans, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries addressed itself almost exclusively to the cultivation of the feelings, and nourished the most pious and generous sentiments. The steel-clad knight devoted himself to the defence of the faith of Christ, the protection of innocence, the service of woman, the practice of arms, and the cultivation of poesy. He wore the cross as a badge of his faith; and bore the sword not only as a weapon of death, but as the symbol of his honor. Sentiment was the characteristic of the poetry, as of the life, of the Middle Ages. Love was the common theme of the almost innumerable songs of this period. The knights and nobles of Germany were devoted to warlike pursuits, it is true; they tilted for fame in the tournament, and courted death in battle; they lived by the toils of the chase, the spoils of war, and the gains of marauding; and yet, strange to say, scarcely a war-song is to be found in all the productions of the times. The neighing of the war-horse and the blast of the trumpet are not heard in their poetical effusions; but rather the cooing of doves, and the melting strains of enamoured birds. The productions of these Minnesingers (*Love-singers*) are, in truth, somewhat effeminate. Grimm called their art womanish. It did not portray, it must be acknowledged, the great and manly qualities of that stirring age. Entirely subjective in its character, it expressed in gentle words only the tender sentiments. It sung almost exclusively the delights and pains of love, the bloom of May and the desolateness of winter, the hopes of youth and the miseries of age, the promise of the future and the regrets of the past.

In manliness of character, as well as in originality of genius, the Minnesingers of Germany were decidedly inferior

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to the Troubadours of Provence. The minstrels of the South sang the honors of war, the duties of knighthood, and the loyalty of vassals, as well as the pleasures of love and the praises of the fair. The verse of Castelnau glows with enthusiasm for his rank and order; that of Boniface with hatred of jurists and prelates; that of Figuera with zeal against Rome and the Pope. Religious opinions, philosophy, romance, every thing, in fact, that was in life, appears in the poetry of the Troubadours. They directed public opinion; and, with true lyric feeling, lived in the present, as the epic poet does in the past. Men held in high esteem both their counsel and their praise; they dreaded the indignation expressed both by their lips and their songs. These minstrels entered the lists of love with princes for rivals, and even assailed the throne with political opposition. The comprehensive culture of the Troubadours gave rise to the greatest diversities of poetic talent, and to very marked differences in the value of their productions; but we can produce numerous specimens from the Minnesingers, which it would require a sharp eye and discriminating study to distinguish from each other. Poets of the former class are rich and varied, while the latter are fervent, in sentiment, — the former being delighted with the mingled play of the emotions, while the others are content with the full utterance of a single feeling. The passion of the Troubadours is stronger and wilder, and has none of that German modesty, which presumes not even to mention the name of its beloved in song. Amid much that is frivolous, what is truly noble in them appears to greater advantage; and, when their lays do breathe the spirit of faithful love, one is more convinced of its genuineness than in the Minnesongs of the North, where vows and oaths are too often repeated with conventional heartlessness. Hence it was, that even Dante and Petrarch did not disdain to refresh their genius at the living fountains of the Valencian minstrelsy.

In the early part of the thirteenth century, while the poetry of chivalry was in its highest estate, was discovered the "Lay of the Nibelungen." This is a collection of old heroic songs, which appear to have been originally composed by different individuals, but were afterwards compiled and wrought together by the skill either of Henry von Ofterdingen, or of some one of the minstrels who embellished with the

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graces of poetry and music the courts of the Landgraves of Thuringia and Babenberg. The subject of this ancient lay consists of legends respecting the Gothic, Frankish, and Burgundian heroes, who lived in the times of the great Northern migrations ; and is treated with that simplicity of manner, purity of sentiment, and magnanimity of thought, which belong to the heroic age of German literature.

At about the same time, also, was brought to light another poem, or collection of poems, called the "Gudrun," which may be said to be the Odyssey, as the "Lay of the Nibelungen" is the Iliad, of Germany. The origin of this venerable relic is enveloped in the obscurity of antiquity, though portions of it may be traced back to the twelfth century. The scene of the sagas of the "Gudrun" is laid in different countries, in Friesland, Denmark, Zeeland, Ireland, and Normandy ; and both style and matter occasionally exhibit somewhat of a Scandinavian, Danish, or British, as well as a German character. More highly polished, and more perfect in whatever belongs to poetic form, than the "Lay of the Nibelungen," the "Gudrun" occupies a middle position between popular song, and a more artificial style of poetry. Both poems are an ornament to the literature, and an honor to the people of Germany. They are alive with the spirit of those old, heroic times, when barbarian bravery, fidelity, and chastity elicited the admiration even of the civilized Romans. Free from modern effeminacy, if not always from primitive coarseness of sentiment, full of healthy vigor and genuine virtue, these lyrical relics are of a far higher order than the contemporary productions of other European countries, and indicate the early existence, in the Germanic race, of those high poetical and moral qualities, afterwards so illustriously displayed in the Lutheran Reformation and in recent poetry.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century, the poetry of chivalry began to be superseded by that of the trades. Cloyed with the sweet excess of love, the Muse forsook the lofty courts and castles of the Minnesingers, to descend into the noisy workshops of mechanics and tradesmen. The tailor broke the monotonous silence of his calling with divine song, and the cobbler relieved his toil with the delights of poesy. The Meistersingers were a fraternity of poetical artisans, who manufactured songs by rule and measure, as well as

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shoes, coats, and houses. Art was taught by them in formal schools; strict rules of composition were inculcated; and contests of poetic skill instituted, in which the victor was rewarded with a garland of roses. These poets generally drew their themes and inspiration either from the Bible or the contemporary literature; and reflected in their writings the asceticism, scholasticism, mysticism, pedantry, and superstition of the times. Compared with the Minnesongs, the poetry of the Meistersingers is inferior in matter, but more perfect in form. The art of the Meisters is plastic, festive, didactic, and satirical; that of the knights, grave, musical, refined, and either epic or lyrical. The former is the product of the imagination, and aims at entertainment; the latter, of the understanding, and always inculcates a moral. The one is subjective,—rhyming its own fancies, and idealizing the pursuits of mankind; the other realistic,—describing the coarser forms of human character, and portraying things as they are. That is the poetry of love; this, of life.

The prince of the Meistersingers was Hans Sachs of Nuremberg, shoemaker. Born in the latter part of the fifteenth century, he lived in that ancient city at a period when it was the high school of poetry, and the literary metropolis of Germany,—when it was enriched by trade and manufactures, and adorned by the presence of men of the highest genius, and by all the polite arts which at that time embellished life. This hero of German song, though commonly classed with the Meistersingers, in fact, far surpassed them in genius, and brought about as great a reformation in letters, as Luther in religion, or Hutten in politics. He greatly improved the poetical forms which were adopted by his predecessors, and, overstepping the limits which had before been drawn around the practice of the divine art, taught his successors to walk abroad over the fields of universal knowledge. The language of Sachs is more highly cultivated than that of any contemporary except Luther. His rhymes are, indeed, frequently turned off with too great rapidity and uniformity; his cultivation was not equal to his native talent; but he had a great poetic soul, and nobly executed the task to which he was called, of singing the praises of virtue and satirizing the follies of superstition. As a polemic, he was moderate; he was warmly interested in the

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religious reforms of the day, but not excited by them. In other respects, he was one of the most manly spirits who lived in the time of the Reformation, — keeping a soul serene amid all the distractions of the age, and modestly prosecuting his honest trade of shoemaking.

The Reformation gave rise to a new form of religious poetry. The Latin hymns of the Catholic church were supplanted by the sacred songs of Protestant theologians, who, from the time of Luther to that of Klopstock, held exclusive possession of the German Parnassus. The calamities of the Thirty Years' War between the rival churches unsealed the fountains of religious and poetic feeling; and the agitated soul poured itself forth in hymns and spiritual songs. The number of these effusions of the sacred muse was very great; Hardenberg's register contains the first lines of no less than sixty thousand. Almost every priest was, or claimed to be, a poet. The Scriptures and the creeds of the church were versified; the Latin Catholic songs, among which were many of transcendent beauty, as, for example, the *Dies iræ*, and the *Apparebit repentina*, were translated; of morning and evening benedictions, of bridal and burial, Christmas and new year's, songs, of house and church melodies, laments, thanksgivings, and litanies, there was almost an infinite variety. Those written by Luther are generally the best. They breathe the spirit of his firm and cheerful faith, of his deep sentiment, and his robust, yet tempered manliness of character. Luther, and most of the other writers, composed musical accompaniments to their hymns, — some of them believing, that to every one to whom the Holy Ghost imparted a new song, it also gave a new melody. Whatever Luther wrote was everywhere imitated and sung, in church and school, in the house and the shop, the street, the market place, and the field; so that the religious songs of the theologians after the Reformation universally prevailed over the secular poetry of their predecessors, as they have also remained unequalled by similar productions of later times. Novalis and Harms may have written choral melodies which embody the spirit of true devotion, and which may be more elegantly finished than those of Hermann or Luther; but the people at large have the stanch faith, the noble simplicity, and the devout reverence of the old times no longer; and, together with the loss of these virtues, they have lost their former enthusiasm for the solemn lyre.

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The next great luminary that arose in the poetic heaven of Germany was Martin Opitz. He has been called the founder of the modern poetical literature of his country; and was, at least, the father of its artistic poetry. Opitz greatly improved his vernacular language, and he united the spirit of the ancient Greek with that of the modern German literature. He first taught his countrymen the art of making literal translations from the classics; he introduced again the secular love-song, that had hardly passed the lips of youth since the days of the Minnesingers; and, developing the powers of the North in Silesia, as those of the more precocious South had before been displayed in Suabia, he established the poetry of reflection by the side of that of sentiment. The great abilities of Opitz were acknowledged even during his lifetime. The contemporary poets were all loud in his praise; the German muse was called the Opitzian; a journey which he made through the land, after the publication of his poems, was a march of triumph; and, at Vienna, he was both crowned with the laurel, and raised to the honors of nobility. He did not, however, possess the highest gifts of genius; he had no power of original invention, and his poetry was more perfect in form, than fresh and copious in materials. Neither, although there were not wanting good points in his character, was he distinguished by the nobler virtues as a man; but rather, like too many other literary men of his times, by subserviency to the great, who rewarded the poet with offices, and flattered him with titles and honors.

We have now hastily followed our author through the first three volumes of his work, containing the history of the early poetical literature of the Germans; and have reached a period, when we may look for the appearance of a poet of higher and more comprehensive genius than that which animated those whom we have already noticed. Hitherto, we have seen poetry confined to separate classes of society and local schools; we have met with writers whose views were bound to particular times and places, and whose culture was hardly superior to that of the comparatively unenlightened age in which they lived. But Klopstock, standing on the vantage-ground of modern times, overlooked the entire course of the past. He summed up the labors of all his predecessors, and harvested the combined literary culture of ten centuries. The learning acquired by previous industry,

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a cultivated language and an improved art, the experience of a long line of poets and ages of history, the liberal spirit of modern times, and the old superstitions, legends, and fair, poetic fables, — all were the inheritance of Klopstock. With this poet, accordingly, — as, in a less degree, with his immediate predecessor, Gottsched, — the universal, revolutionary, and comparatively independent spirit of modern German literature began distinctly to manifest itself.

Frederic Gottlob Klopstock was born in Quedlinburg, in 1724, and lived till 1803. He grew up in the open air, a vigorous and precocious boy ; and at an early age learned the arts of riding, swimming, and skating, the latter of which he passionately loved and sang. Solitude and society were equally agreeable to him ; hilarity and pensiveness seemed by turns to be the prevailing traits of his disposition. He wrote pastorals and penitential hymns, while at school. Even in youth, says Gervinus, his fingers were skilled to sweep the Grecian lyre, the *telyn* of the old German bards, and the psaltery of the sacred singers of Judea. And he was soon inspired with the ambitious hope of producing some great work, that should enable his native country to take poetic rank by the side of the proudest of her sister kingdoms.

Klopstock excelled in the ode, of which he composed three different kinds ; one, in the spirit of David and the prophets, another, in that of Ossian and the Edda, and the third, in imitation of Pindar and Horace. Of these different classes, the last is the best, as the Greeks and Romans were the most accomplished masters of this species of composition. According to Herder, every one of Klopstock's odes has a distinct and peculiar expression ; each is a different dance of harmonious words, and each a choral song that must be heard in order to be appreciated. Klopstock was, in fact, a musician. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the great contemporary masters, Handel and Bach, Gluck and Kunst. Their compositions kindled his poetical rapture, and often furnished, directly, the materials for his odes. He has himself acknowledged, that his principal guides, in the invention of lyric measures, were Nature and the tone-inspired Bach.

But Klopstock was not satisfied with writing odes. He burned with the desire to compose a great epic poem, of which the inspiration should be drawn from the religion of

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Jesus, and not from the art of classic Greece, or the passion of barbarian Germany. He lived, as he once said to his friend Claudius, only to sing the song of God. The execution of this pious work he had designed to defer until he had reached his thirtieth year; but impatient frenzy prevailed, and he commenced "The Messiah" in his youth. The subject of this epic hymn is passion, instead of action, and herein lies its greatest fault. Even the hero is represented as suffering, rather than doing; and all the persons introduced into the poem express their feelings, instead of showing us their acts. These feelings, too, all run into ecstasies; the poem is full of raptures, visions, laments, hallelujahs, and tears. Written under the influence of strong religious emotion, and being, in fact, a record of the poet's spiritual experience, it can be perused only in a similar state of pious exaltation. But as this cannot be a permanent state of mind, the author's attempt at continual pathos and sublimity has necessarily made the entire work a succession of magnificent failures. The men and women of "The Messiah" are either angels or devils; the angels themselves, without characteristic attributes, are vague and empty forms, shadows, nothings. How unlike the fair humanities of Milton's heaven! In the case of the Saviour, too,—so unlike the beautiful and natural anthropomorphism of the Scriptures,—the majesty of the God entirely overshadows the mild virtues and affectionate sympathies of the man. Thus the beauty of materiality is completely spiritualized away in Klopstock, as facts are all sublimated into sentiments.

"The Messiah" was originally received in Germany with the greatest enthusiasm, and brought many a pious soul to its *Nunc dimittas*. It comprehended all the culture, and surpassed by far the expectations, of the times. But posterity pronounces it, as a work of art, to be too musical in its character, too personal, too pathetical, and too sublime. Men attribute to it, as the noblest poem Germany had then produced, great historical, but less æsthetical value. In fine, they revere the poet, but do not read him.

The religious spirit of Klopstock, who exerted a great influence on the succeeding literature of his country, was reproduced in the early writings of Christopher Martin Wieland. When but thirteen years of age, Wieland began to plan epics; at school, he vexed his nights with pious and

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penitential tears. When he began to write for the public, his pages glowed with faith in virtue ; he admired the simplicity of Xenophon, and studied the wisdom of Socrates with the eyes of Plato, and not, as in later times, with those of Aristippus. He hated the frivolity of the French, and bent with devout veneration over the solemnities of Young. He composed an *Anti-Ovid*, and the *Emotions of a Christian*, in which piety was surrounded with those graces that he afterwards caused to wait on pleasure. He celebrated in pastorals the innocence of an idyllic life, believed in the past existence of an age of gold, when purity was protected by fig-leaves, condemned the Anacreontic poets who sung the charms of Venus, and anathematized the poetry of the imitators of Ovid, as the wine of devils, by which thoughtless souls were intoxicated to their own destruction.

The piety of Wieland passed away with his youth ; and the author of "Agathon" fell for ever from the heaven of the seraphic poets. This work, as well as several others on Grecian themes, was written in the spirit of the Aristippian philosophy. The perfumed air of the isles of Greece blows over their pages. Still, as there was nothing wanting, save the electric spark of genius, to reduce to fusion the poetical materials in Wieland's mind, in order to make him a true poet ; so was there nothing lacking in his delineations of Grecian life and manners, to render them truly antique, except the old Greek feeling itself. His Graces are not the same beauteous virgins that waited on the footsteps of Aphrodite, and danced in the presence of Jove. They are affected, instead of being ingenuous ; and have modern coquetry, in the place of antique innocence.

In his attempt to reproduce the spirit of the Middle Ages, Wieland was more successful, as the task was much more congenial to his temperament. "Gandelin," and his other tales and fables in imitation of the literature of chivalry, possess all the graces of fancy and sentiment which embellish the writings of the Minnesingers. They transport us back to the romantic times, when the squire was proud to follow his knight, when the peasant fought unto death beneath the banner of his chieftain, and the chieftain beneath the eye of his prince. "Oberon," founded on the old romance of Huon de Bordeaux, is, in fact, almost the only work which made, and still preserves, the name of Wieland popular. It

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does not, however, rank with the highest kind of poetry. Its object is merely the entertainment of the reader; and success in this species of composition requires no higher gifts than those of poetic recital.

Wieland received from Aristippus the principle, that wisdom consists in holding the golden mean between all extremes; but unfortunately, he did not always follow it in practice. The society in which he lived was in a state of transition, like that through which the individual sometimes passes from childhood to manhood, — a state of doubt, self-deception, and frequent change. He occupied a position midway between the pastoral innocence and golden youth of Klopstock's time, and the enlightened, philosophic culture of Schiller's and Goethe's. We find him, at one time, writing out his religious experience, and, at another, studying French poetry and composing in the style of Voltaire; now attempting to revive the romantic spirit of the Middle Ages, and now to reanimate the antique genius of classic Greece; now designing to portray in a romance the school of Socrates, and then to write a history of the German Empire. Sometimes, he allowed himself to sport with the most sacred mysteries of religion, and then again he endeavoured to lay the foundations of a purer and higher morality, by teaching the inseparableness of wisdom and virtue. He held, that the object of poetry and art was, to produce the beautiful, not the useful, or the pleasurable; and yet was ever employing them to invest virtue with graceful attractions, and to enrich life with elevated pleasures. He led a high ideal life, while he was at the same time polluting his pages with wanton descriptions of vice. Living in the bosom of his family, on a dozen acres, he was also a citizen of the world; was both poet and critic; a novelist to-day, and a philosopher to-morrow. Such a career precluded him, of course, from effecting much in the higher walks of art, and prevented his exerting any thing more than a transient influence upon the character of his countrymen.

We now come to a writer in whom is to be found nothing either of the maiden sentimentality of Klopstock, or the refined, philosophic effeminacy of Wieland. Lessing was not a man to waste his nights in pietistic weeping, nor to lie down beneath Elysian skies to day-dreams of love and pleasure. His was a proud and daring spirit, endowed with

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fortitude, magnanimity, and great decision. The son of an orthodox clergyman, Lessing was designed by his parents to follow the profession of divinity. But his free and wild spirit made him prefer the stage to the pulpit, and set the society of wits and players before that of pedants and theologians. At the youthful age when Klopstock read Fenelon, and Wieland was absorbed with Xenophon, the favorites of Lessing were Terence, Plautus, and Theophrastus. Impatient of the restraints of university life, believing that books would never make him wiser, and involved, moreover, in pecuniary difficulties, from his thoughtless but generous prodigality, and from the expense of learning the arts of riding, fencing, and dancing, he left his debts behind him in Leipsic, and his studies afterwards in Wittenberg, to take refuge in the society of the freethinkers of Berlin. There, having relinquished all thought of seeking his fortune either by medicine or theology, he gave vent to his struggling feelings in epigrams, and wrote the learned articles for the newspaper of Vosz. Fettered to no place and to no persons, he soon left Berlin to accompany the army to Breslau, in the capacity of secretary to Tauenzien. A professorship in Königsberg, which was some time afterwards proffered him, he declined, from unwillingness to pronounce the yearly panegyric ; and indulged his imagination with the prospect of a more independent mode of life, by connecting himself with a bookseller's house in Hamburg. But he finally accepted the office of librarian at Wolfenbüttel, where he could gratify his desire to labor and put forth the force that was in him, without being a dependent on the sweet voices of the public, or a hanger-on upon any man's favor. There he generously furthered all noble undertakings within the sphere of his influence, and continued those labors for elevating the low estate of the German theatre, which long afterwards resulted so gloriously in the perfection of the national drama. At this period, a great calamity befell him in the loss of his wife and child ; but he bore it with noble stoicism, though saying, that these frequent messengers of death made him anxious to follow their call.

The same spirit which characterized the life of Lessing pervaded his writings. While Klopstock described the heroic, and Wieland the weak, the works of Lessing exhibit the natural and true man. They are filled with a spiritual

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freshness and healthy vigor, such as can be found in those of no other modern writer in Germany. There is no false sentiment in them, no corrupt principle. Lessing is earnest, vigorous, tolerant, truthful, progressive. He turned away from Wieland's "Agathon" with moral indignation, though highly appreciating its artistic merit; and said pedantically of Goethe's "Werter," that such an ἐξ ἔρωτος κατοχὴ, impelling a man τὶ τολμᾷν παρὰ φύσιν, would not, in the age of Socrates, have been deemed allowable even in a girl. Though a thorough German, he had more of the spirit of the old Greeks, and a clearer insight into the character of Grecian art, literature, and life, than any of his countrymen who lived before him. For nature, he possessed a simple, unsophisticated love, but not a sickly longing, such as is sometimes found in persons who are less familiar with it. In poetry, he sought for man and manly actions, not for moral precepts, or descriptive landscapes. In philosophy he believed in the ἓν καὶ πᾶν of Spinoza; but also in a Providence which notices the fall of the sparrow, and in all the orderings of which he manifested a truly Greek, we can hardly say Christian, acquiescence. He acknowledged no other moral law for a moral being than that which is derived from his particular nature, and which requires him to act according to his individual endowments. Truly antique was his sentiment, that one ought to be so occupied with the duties of the present life, as to have no inclination to debate the existence of another; and that, as we can await the end of a single day, so ought we to be able to await that of life; and any astrological art or religion, which could disclose to us either the near or the distant future, would not be worth the having. In the same spirit of resignation to a higher Power, he once told Jacobi, though his entire life was a rare specimen of the noblest liberty, that he wished for no freedom of will. His love of truth was surpassed by nothing but his love of the pursuit of it; and he has left on record the following sublime passage, as remarkable for its modesty as its boldness: — "It is not the truth a man has, or thinks that he has, but the sincere pains he has applied to obtain it, that constitutes his worth. For not by the possession of truth, but by the search after it, are his powers enlarged, wherein alone his ever growing perfection doth subsist. Possession makes man quiet, indolent, and proud. If God

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should hold out in his right hand all truth, and in his left simply the intense desire for it, although with the condition that I should eternally err in the pursuit, and should say unto me, Choose! I would fall humbly on his left, and say, Father, give! Pure truth is, indeed, for thee alone." The religious sentiments of Lessing were similar to those which have since prevailed in the learned classes of German society; yet, like Leibnitz before him, allowing both an esoteric and an exoteric faith, he was very far from wishing to alter the forms of the established worship, or in any way needlessly to disturb the faith of the common people. The labors of Lessing were very various; his learning prodigious; his aims universal; his influence extensive, and, in certain respects, salutary. Like Leibnitz, again, he ranged observingly over the whole theatre of the period in which he lived, proving all things and holding fast to that which was good, narrowed by no exclusive system of philosophy, and devoted to no one method of investigation. He at last brought the ancient times to a complete termination, and fully introduced the new ages.

Lessing was no poet. He himself expressly said, that the living fountains of poetry were not in him. But the author of the "Laocöon" was perhaps the greatest critic of modern times. The object of this celebrated work is, to show, that the isolation of the several fine arts from each other is essential to their perfection, and that their common aim is the production of beauty. The peculiar province of poetry is proved to be entirely distinct both from that of morality and of philosophy, being limited, strictly speaking, to the exhibition of ideal actions. These views, in which Lessing differed widely from Klopstock, who made moral beauty, and also from Wieland, who considered nature and truth, as the great aim of poetry, but in which he agreed with Aristotle, and was closely followed in their æsthetical theories by Goethe, Schiller, and Humboldt, were enforced with great argumentative power, extraordinary purity and correctness of taste, and with rich and pertinent illustrations from the art and literature of Greece. By his plays, written in prose, and which, marking out the boundaries between prose and poetry, first established the true relations between them, Lessing regenerated the German stage; and by his "Dramaturgie" delivering German poetry from the yoke

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of French dogmatism, he pointed out to his countrymen the true paths to the Parnassian mount, which they afterwards so generally and successfully followed.

We cannot pass by Winckelmann, that noble Grecian, who, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was the teacher of art for all civilized Europe, without saying a word or two respecting his character and works. Reluctant, like Lessing, to study the profession of divinity, for which he had been set apart, this great expounder of antique art sighed out the first thirty years of his life in giving lessons to little boys and girls. His spirit remained unbroken, however, and the study of classic art and literature afterwards restored him to second youth. At length, for the sake of spending the remainder of his days amidst the ruins and the arts of Rome, he changed his religion, and adopted the name of Catholic, — saying to a friend, "*Nullum ingenium magnum sine mixturâ dementiæ.*" In fact, however, though the recollection of early religious impressions was always precious to Winckelmann, as to Goethe, though he also composed Lutheran hymns that were pressed, throughout Prussia, to the hearts of the pious, and though, when under adversity, he could pour, both into his own bosom and the broken hearts of his friends, the oil of religious consolation, yet he laid no claim to piety in the popular sense of the word. As he was a Catholic at Rome, so would he, in Greece, have been a priest of Cybele, or a worshipper of Osiris in Egypt. His religion, which he called philosophy, was that which, in his opinion, remained at last as the common truth of all forms of religious belief. To act and strive in the present hour he considered to be his calling; and thought, if possible, less even than Lessing, of immortality. In Winckelmann, the good and the bad were mixed up together, as in nature; and to be better than nature, he, like Goethe, had no desire, but rather a disinclination. In the solitude and adversity of his early life, he acquired an elasticity of mind, which enabled him to make sacrifices and practise self-denial, but which also fitted him for yielding easily to the pressure of circumstances and the wickedness of mankind. He was too proud, it must be confessed, of his name and reputation; and the intensity with which he loved his country was regulated by the amount of incense it offered to his vanity. His simplicity and *naïveté* of character were

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extraordinary. He laid open his whole nature to inspection ; and followed out, like a child, all his impulses, though with a certain degree of moderation, — saying, with the wise men of antiquity, that he wished not to be too happy. In Italy, he learned to harmonize the conflicting elements of his character, — husbanding his enthusiasm, guiding his straightforwardness with prudence, and mitigating the violence of his passions by quiet and humility. The great work by which Winckelmann is known to fame is his "History of Art." By this, he opened the realms of beauty to his countrymen, and led them into the temple of Grecian art, as Herder did into that of Hebrew wisdom and poetry.

The first appearance of Herder in literature was bold and even arrogant. The sensitive, excitable youth, whose nerves were too weak for the practice of medicine, for which he had been designed, and whose retiring and conscientious disposition better fitted him for the profession of theology, which he afterwards followed, came forward at first, anonymously, indeed, but in a style of composition that was fearless, assuming, and ambitious. Though a teacher in his youth, like Winckelmann, he never had, like him, to struggle with poverty ; he started, also, with this other advantage over his immediate predecessors, that he entered into the harvest of their labors. Favored by fortune, though never aided by friendship, for which his shrinking and distrustful disposition made him quite unfit, his gentle, pliable nature acquired elasticity and hardihood. In his early publications, which consisted chiefly of critical essays upon literature and art, he boldly attacked, though he by no means overthrew, the artistic theories of Lessing and the philosophical system of Kant. He advocated his own opinions with strong and genial enthusiasm, and displayed, withal, a liberality of religious sentiment, that did not fail to raise some suspicions of his orthodoxy in the minds of more scrupulous theologians. He adopted, in the main, the theological views of Lessing, carrying them, at least, as far as was consistent with his sacred calling, and defending them, together with the philosophy of Spinoza, against the objections of Jacobi.

Of all Herder's predecessors and contemporaries, Lessing exerted the greatest influence upon his writings, though Klopstock produced a deeper impression upon his character. Compared with the former, Herder has more feeling, Lessing

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more insight. The writings of Lessing abound in convincing demonstrations ; those of Herder, in splendid declamations ; the one having more science and more truth, the other more rhetoric and more error. The former always exhausted his subject, and brought his works to completion ; while the latter never published any thing but fragments. But in susceptibility to the beautiful and noble in the literature of foreign countries and distant times, Herder excelled both Lessing and all his other contemporaries. Such was the facility with which he seized upon the characteristics, and such the fidelity with which he reproduced the spirit and form, the tone and coloring, of the literature of all nations, that the haughtiness of the Spaniard, the *naïveté* of the Lithuanian, the mild sentimentality of the German, the dashing boldness of English historical romance, the fresh life of the ancient Greek, and the dreamy musings of the Asiatic Indian, the glow of the South, and the gloom of the North, — all seem to be comprehended within the broad bosom of this one genius. As Winckelmann's " History of Art " unlocked the treasures of Greece, so did Herder's " Spirit of Hebrew Poetry " open the way to the ancient world of the East, whence, as also from all European lands, from the vales of the tropics, and the hills of the North, from Greenland and Peru, he brought home flowers of every form, hue, and scent, to interweave in the garland of his country's literature.

Herder was like an inspired child, — all sense and feeling, in love with simplicity and nature, and deeply impressed by the mysterious and remote in time or place. His whole life, he once said, was but the interpretation of the oracles of his childhood. Children, women, and men of simple minds were, in his estimation, the most eloquent of orators. He wished he had been born in the Middle Ages ; he gave an ear to prophesyings, and longed to see a ghost. The earliest poetry he always thought the best ; and language in its rudest state, the most poetic. He regarded Greek poetry as not to be compared with the Hebrew ; admired Ossian and the songs of the North American Indians ; and looked upon his treatise on the earliest records of the human race as a new Scripture. He made collections of popular songs, and set a higher value on them than upon the productions of artistic poets, not one of whom could he endure, save Klopstock. His imagination roamed enraptured through the par-

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adise of the past, and beheld in the distant future a return of the age of gold.

The views and principles advanced by Herder in the second stage of his progress were very dissimilar to those entertained by him in the first. As was the case with Goethe, the revolutionary spirit, with which he was possessed in youth, died out in him long before it did in the nation. Hence, in his "Calligone," and his polemical writings against Kant, we find him both contradicting his former self, and opposing the spirit of the times. In early life, he thought that poetry declined with the progress of civilization; but now he believes in its advance. No longer the idolizer of popular song, he considers that the highest poetry, in which there is a harmonious union of nature and art. He expects the coming of a future bard, who shall sing in measures the last results of philosophy, and even reduce to verse the scientific systems of Copernicus and Buffon. As Goethe, at a later period, discovered something excellent and weighty in the decency of Voltaire, so Herder, the former admirer of the simplicity of nature, now appears as the defender of the French poets, and praises the precision and definiteness of their language as the necessary fruit of refined culture. He, who once complained of the mingling of the beautiful and the good in the works of Klopstock, now adopts for his motto, — the beautiful, the good, and the true, one and inseparable. No longer do we hear him declaim about the unconsciousness of genius, — he does not believe in it; no longer does he proclaim the inspiration of feeling, — he laughs at the Quakers in science, who wait for the anointing of the Spirit; no longer does he extol the genius of Shakspeare, — he is almost in favor of shutting up the theatres; no longer is he the advocate even of the freedom of religious opinion, — he proposes to forbid theological polemics by a royal ordinance, and to expurgate error by fire from every circulating library in the land. Herder went back to the seventeenth century, — the age, which, like himself, studied antiquity and translated foreign literature, which mixed up the styles of poetry and prose, which divided its interest between poetry and theology, — the age of enthusiasm for popular songs and music, and the age, also, of historical learning, culminating in Leibnitz, who, in this respect, was Herder's highest ideal.

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Herder was not without a certain *penchant* for practical life. He wished that he had received an education which would have better fitted him for living in the midst of men; that he had devoted himself to the study of mathematics, history, oratory, drawing, nature, mankind, and manners. He proposed to reform the schools by the introduction of realistic studies; he taught that all methods for reforming mankind, except the cultivation of the more active virtues, served only to enervate them; regretted that he had become an author; and lamented the want of those popular accomplishments, which were necessary to make him the centre of extensive social influences. Herder was ambitious to play the same part at the court of Catharine which Voltaire did at that of Frederic; and, after founding an academy, according to the pattern of his ideal, in Finland, he proposed to apply the principles of Montesquieu to the national education of the natives. The opportunities which he actually had, however, for displaying his skill in the marshalling of affairs, did not turn out very successfully. Being invited by Count William as court preacher to Bückeburg, he accomplished nothing for the benefit of prince or people, beyond making religion agreeable to the Countess, who was sickly, and concerned about her future state; and at the court of Weimar, also, whither he was called through the influence of Goethe, he confined himself altogether to comforting the Duchess.

We next turn, for a while, to Jean Paul Frederic Richter, of Wunsiedel, who was born in 1763, and died in 1825. He is one of those authors, who have the misfortune to be extravagantly admired by one party in literature, and as decidedly disliked by another. Many persons, after having reached the age when they require their understanding to render an account of their reading, soon become weary of his writings. To others, on the contrary, Richter appeared not a whit less than an apostle; and sentimental ladies were so smitten with adoration of his genius, as to think themselves honored by wearing a lock, not of the poet's hair, but of his spaniel's, in their bosom. The judgment which Gervinus passes upon this writer may not satisfy many of his admirers either in Germany or in this country; but it will not appear too severe to the great majority of his countrymen, who do not rank him among their highest poets.

Jean Paul's nature, unlike that of Schiller and Goethe, for

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example, had but one period of development, and then stood still. Though not altogether unconscious of the imperfection of his spiritual growth, he could never fully understand the saying of Goethe, that one is a different person every ten years. He himself enjoyed throughout life perpetual youth; and hoped for nothing better than its perpetuation even in heaven. The heats of youthful passion and the fire of early enthusiasm never abated in him. His *morale* inculcates the purity and innocence of childhood; and his views generally are so characterized by youthfulness, as to appear rather unsuitable for his manhood and his years. His life, too, was one of great uniformity. Little influenced by public events, and little varied by fluctuations of domestic fortune, it was not much more than a peaceful succession of states purely idyllic. His autobiography is a perfect picture of still life, not differing widely from many of his romances; and was not completed, partly, perhaps, because there were no more facts to be narrated. He grew up in narrow circumstances, with little help from the schools, but indifferently well versed in history and the common branches of learning, with only a smattering of ancient literature, and a superficial, though extensive, acquaintance with the sciences.

If, however, there was no after-growth in Jean Paul's nature, the first growth was a very rich one. If his actual life was monotonous, that of his imagination was crowded with events the most remarkable, and scenes the most varied and interesting. He derived not much benefit from the teachings of the schools; but his twelve quarto volumes of extracts, completed before his entrance into the university, certainly exhibit the diligence and perseverance of the self-educated scholar. Composition was almost a monomania with Jean Paul. He began to write books as soon as he had learned to form his letters, — kept diaries, both religious and secular, — even noted down subjects for conversation on a tablet, — had at one time collected together no less than twenty thick quartos of ironical expressions, and a still larger number of satirical ones, — became an author before he was out of his teens, — and, instead of devoting his youth to the collection of materials for future use, reaped the fruits of his learning while they were yet green and half grown. He drank wine to enliven his wits at the writing-desk, instead of satisfying the demands of appetite with it at the table; and

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thought, at the end of each day's labors, that he was nearer to an easy death, in proportion as he had diminished, by writing, the wearisome burden of thoughts that weighed upon his brain. His youth was poor indeed in worldly goods; but in feelings, fancies, and domestic joys, it was very rich. With the help of a little music and moonshine, a few holy-day visits to town, and the pursuit of a village maiden indifferently pretty, he enjoyed an income of spiritual delights, not to be exchanged for the gold of *millionnaires* or the jewels of princes. Nearly all the characteristic elements of the times are to be found united in his writings,—the heartlessness of its satire, its sickly excess of sentiment, the "chamois leaps" of its wild, irregular fantasy, the sober views of its sound understanding, both its love and hatred of the world, its idealism, its realism, and its spirituality. At the same time, his productions are all strict transcripts of his inward life. He is constantly drawing away the attention of the reader from the work to its author. We recognize his own peculiarities in Fixlein, his own home attachments in Wuz and Fibel, the petty foibles of his first authorship in the "Wild Oats," and the portraits of his personal friends in the heroes of the "Titan." The pages of Jean Paul sparkle with the most brilliant coruscations of wit and fancy; yet his humorous, like his heroic characters, are too often mere caricatures. On the whole, it must be said, that his works abound more in reflections than in facts, in sentiments than in truths, and less in the description of actions, than in visions, dreams, allegories, and whatever else there may be that is fantastic and unreal.

"These," says Gervinus, "are the two extremes on which every thing turns in this writer. On the one side, he is offended with the world, he turns away from men with contempt, and annihilates the external universe with scorn; on the other side, he attaches himself to still life, retires into the realms of the spirit, and finds again his lost worldly weal in the quiet of narrow circumstances, and in silent communion with his hopes of a better future. To the first mood of mind, we are indebted for his humorous characters, who carry their raillery against the world to a disgust with it; to the second, for his soft, self-conceited personages, who unite an utter ignorance of men with an infinite love for the welfare of the entire race. The one class of persons sink, on occasions, to the most contemptible meanness;

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while the 'flower-souls' of the second class exalt themselves to the extreme of the author's so called noble characters, who turn their backs on the world to preserve themselvs from its pollution, and discover that the highest purity of soul is inconsistent with habits of active usefulness. On the one hand, Jean Paul is skeptical, satirical, a persecutor of German coxcombry, and a realist in his manner of representation, as is generally the case with youth when it falls into this extreme; on the other hand, he is sentimental, weak, inflated, elegiac, and a spiritualist, such as is rarely to be met with. If in the first direction he heaps up wit beyond measure, and overtasks the powers of the understanding; so, in the second, he goes too far in the excitement of sensibility, and in his tendency to tears, to which, like Sterne, he is very fond of moving his readers."

The most important fruits of Jean Paul's genius are the "Titan," and the "Wild Oats," (*Flegeljahre.*) The former of these seems to have been intended for a side picture to Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," and, though to a great extent a reproduction of the "Hesperus,"—as many of Richter's later productions are mere repetitions of their predecessors,—is generally considered as the author's masterpiece. In the latter, we are presented with a picture of the chivalry of early feeling, of the mad fancies which are wont to chase each other through the brains of youth, of winter plays around the paternal hearth, of quiet domestic joys, of first love, of Sunday homesickness, and of every thing, in fact, which thrills the young and generous bosom, such as can be found on the pages of no other writer. The religious views of Richter may be best learned from his treatise on immortality, entitled the "Campanian Vale," (*Campanerthal,*) in which, adopting the doctrine of the Critical Philosophy, he predicated the existence of a future life on the consideration, that another and a higher state of being is necessary for the perfect development of the good, the true, and the beautiful. His religion consisted in living for immortality and the Divinity. He always despised earthly fame, as men of the highest genius are not wont to do; and in his youth, wished to learn nothing but what would be useful to him in the life to come. He stood with but one foot on the present stage of existence, ever ready, pen, ink, and paper in hand, to step off with the other upon the future.

Passing from the modern Gothic style of Richter, we find at last the restoration of ancient classic beauty in the works

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of Schiller and Goethe. To these two poets our author has devoted upwards of two hundred pages ; but the narrow limits within which we are restricted, and the length of time we have already trespassed upon the patience of our readers, will not allow us to do more than cast a hasty glance upon their characters and writings.

If we were to attempt to characterize Goethe with a single word, we should say, that he was an *optimist.* He beheld imperfections both in nature and humanity, but also a great tendency to amelioration, — a great, universal law of progress, slowly and silently, yet everywhere and irresistibly, evolving good out of evil. This progression, moreover, he was not at all anxious to accelerate beyond its natural pace, by any forced activity of his own. He put no spurs in the sides of his intent ; but allowing free play and scope to the forces with which he had been endowed, ever kept his mind in a state of healthy and genial action. He constantly defended himself against all external influences that might disturb the serene equanimity of his feelings, or that might stimulate the warm glow of thought into feverish excitement. The discord of human opinions appeared to him to grow entirely out of the diversity of human character, — all systems of faith or philosophy, however contradictory in appearance, to be founded on essentially the same great, universal principles, — and every error, so called, to be only a different phase of truth, which, under an infinite variety of forms, is one and the same for ever. He was, accordingly, tolerant of the views of those who disagreed with him ; and did not think it essential either to the present or future salvation of others, that they should be converted to precisely his way of thinking. He was content to study Nature as she is, and asked not of her the questions, — Whence, or Whither. Little interested, in fact, in the history of the past, and wholly disinclined to any speculations respecting the future, he lived cheerfully and actively in the everlasting present. Having a character built up, as the Germans say, on every side, he was a good hater of systems of philosophy, as narrow and onesided ; and, experiencing in himself as many as three or four entirely new evolutions of nature, he abjured all creeds and formulas of belief, as hindering the mind from progress.

One of the great principles which guided the life of

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Goethe may be found in the sentiment expressed by Cicero, in his beautiful tract *De Senectute*, — "*In hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem, tamquam deum, sequimur, eique paremus.*" Of a delicate organization, the communion of nature was more agreeable to Goethe, than the society of men. He guarded his individuality of character from the too near approaches even of friendship and love; but nestled confidingly as a child in the kindly bosom of mother earth, and received the breath of his life from the inspiration of this great mother. In this great genius, as in the material world, the most mighty and discordant forces were blended together in peaceful harmony; and the expression which characterizes both his life and works is kind and calm, like that which rests upon the face of nature. The perfect man, he taught, is one whose faculties, of what kind soever, are all fully and naturally developed, the lower being in willing subjection to the higher. Pantheistic in his religious belief, he held to no self-determining principle in the individual soul, and considered the freedom of the mind to consist in nothing more than the harmony of its faculties. His motto was, *Vivere memento.*

Goethe was an artist, — nothing more, nor less. Schiller wrote history and dabbled in metaphysics, though he had no talent for pure speculation, and his history is but little better than fiction; but Goethe never left the mountain of the Muses. He was a naturalist, it is true, yet his observations of nature were all made on the Parnassian heights, and along the banks of the Castalian waters. He viewed life poetically only, and converted all things to artistic uses. When in Italy, he set a higher value even on the shadows of ancient art, than upon the human beings who were wont to repose under them; and could conceive of no two things more undesirable, than to rebuild the picturesque desolations of the Eternal City, and to cultivate again the sublime wastes of the surrounding *campagna*. So exclusively was his life consecrated to the service of Apollo, that he turned away from the study of the facts of history, avoided all philosophical investigations, and abjured the habits of reflection and self-examination, in order the better to preserve unimpaired his power of poetical creation. His whole experience was written out in poetry, or in fiction. Whatever there is gay or sad in his writings was first in his life; and it is to the

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short but severe struggles of the world within and without him, that we owe all the early, and some of the most important, productions of his muse.

The author of "Faust" was lavishly endowed by nature with those transcendent gifts which are requisite to make the epic poet. But much to his regret, he was not born in an epic age. Accordingly, in the absence of heroic deeds worthy of the lyre, he was obliged to seek in the great ideas of his times for the themes of song. These, however, he was not obliged to search for without the limits of his own capacious intellect; for in that was matured the highest wisdom of the age. Many of the profound truths laboriously excogitated by Hegel and the ablest contemporary metaphysicians of Germany sprang up spontaneously in the mind of Goethe, and have received from his pen their fit poetical expression. And besides uttering in verse all the wisdom of his own times, he has, also, in some of his works, reproduced the chivalry of the Middle Ages, and in others the unconscious beauty of the ancient Greeks. He has written every species of poetry; and, especially, has touched the lyre with all the lightness and grace of the old lyrical masters.

If Goethe was created an epic poet, Schiller was born a dramatist. More fortunate in his natal star than the former, the latter lived in an age that furnished a most appropriate theatre for the exercise of his art and the display of his gifts. The nature of Schiller was in harmony with the tendencies of the times. He was patriotic, and struggled for freedom. He knew men, sympathized with the people, stood shoulder to shoulder with his fellows in the great revolutionary conflicts, and was thought worthy by the French republicans to be honored with a diploma of citizenship from "the great nation." But Goethe knew only man; led, never growing old, a high ideal life; and on arriving, advanced in years, at the summit of his career, he found no broad table-land whereon to wrestle for the prizes of life with his peers, but at once descended on the other side, unattended, into the valley of shadows. Schiller was a poet in spite of hinderances, and may almost be said to have taken the seat of the Muses by storm. Goethe sang from instinctive impulse, and appeared in the society of Apollo and the Gods like one in his native home. The

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tragic poet quickened the pulse of his life by artificial stimulants, overstrained his powers, and was possessed by his genius. The epic poet, pouring forth in song the thoughts that oppressed his breast, arose, relieved from his labors, like a strong man refreshed with sport. True, Schiller directed his impulses towards his chosen aims ; but it was like guiding a bark borne down by the rapids ; while Goethe, following the instinctive promptings of nature, floated along upon a peaceful current at its "own sweet will." The poetry of Schiller is subjective ; that of Goethe objective. Schiller adores freedom ; Goethe worships nature. The former acknowledges the moral law of conscience, and exalts the true, the beautiful, and the good. The latter inculcates the harmony of all laws, unfolds the wisdom and beauty of things as they are, and makes common life poetical. The one stimulates us to the pursuit of unattainable ends ; the other teaches us wisely to improve our actual possessions, and cheerfully to strive after possible perfections. Schiller was a priest of the ideal, Goethe an interpreter of the real world. The same contrast exists between these two minds, which, running through all literary history, is to be seen between Plato and Aristotle, Epicurus and Zeno, Rousseau and Voltaire, Tasso and Ariosto, Lope and Calderon, Klopstock and Wieland, Herder and Lessing.

"Chronologically," says Gervinus, "the oppositions of the real and the ideal lay in nearly an inverted relation in these two poets. Goethe proceeded more from a real towards an ideal tendency ; Schiller, after his acquaintance with Goethe and the ancients, endeavoured to approach the real from the opposite point of the ideal. The latter went back from speculation to poetical intuition ; the former from poetical intuition advanced, if not to speculation, at least to contemplation ; and while, in the traces of Goethe, there followed Oriental spiritualism, in those of Schiller, there came stanch patriotism, both in life and in poetry. The most obvious characteristics of their works were, therefore, altogether different from what would have been expected from their natural endowments. The poet most inclined to the practical and the material became the more exalted in his style of composition. The one who lived in the ideal world of art is, for many persons, too natural. Each hindered the other from falling into extremes ; and accordingly, the lofty and often profound Schiller has been more generally admired, while the plainer and essentially more popular Goethe has been appropriated

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by the aristocratic class of society. He who in his aims had the most reference to men, has remained the favorite of women and youth; but he who abode in perennial youth has satisfied best the wants of man. The one who was all form and spirit pleased the people; but the one who both sought and gave more of matter delighted the cultivated few, who are better able to appreciate form. The genius apparently the most richly endowed has been confined within a narrower circle of influence; and the one apparently less gifted has found a more extensive one; — as Goethe himself said, if Schiller was generally esteemed less rich and productive, it was because his spirit streamed forth into all life, furnishing nutriment to, and supplying the deficiencies of, all men. Accordingly, the lines of the capacious nature of both cross each other in directions so various, that it is only when thus bound together, that they present us with one entire whole, in which we ought, without division, to delight and edify ourselves, as was, indeed, the intention of the men themselves."

Here we are compelled to pause; and, however reluctant, to pass by, unnoticed, many of the brilliant authors whose names emblazon the page of recent German literature; — the mystical Novalis (Frederic von Hardenberg), who aimed at nothing less than to breathe the spirit of poetry into all literature, science, and life, ; the noble, though passive, and somewhat feminine, genius of the Schlegels, who laid the foundations of the new science of literary history; Tieck, the humorous and romantic reproducer of the fable of the Middle Ages; Fouqué, to whom we are indebted for the popular romance of "Undine," the delight of youth; Körner, him of the lyre and sword, who in the cause of his country's freedom both sang and bled; Uhland, whose mediæval ballads have produced the happiest effects upon recent German poetry, and whose songs of liberty and patriotism stand like a phalanx, firm amid the changes of literature; and, finally, Frederick Rückert, who may be cited as the representative of the new Minnesong, whose power of rhythm is incomparable, whose imagery glows with all the gorgeousness of the Orient, and whose sweet, musical lyrics are even inferior to his profound, though light and airy, epigrams.

Gervinus closes his history with the death of Goethe. Since that event, German poetry has degenerated, and become technical in form, and subjective in spirit. The foun-

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tains of poetic inspiration are sealed up ; and nothing short of some great national convulsion, that shall break up the foundations of the present spiritual dynasty, will ever suffice to reopen them. There must be a new development of German life ; the practical, as well as the ideal, side of the national character must be built up ; there must arise some political Luther to introduce into the trades the freedom which is so largely enjoyed in religion, and so to modify the civil polity of the land, as to give to the German in future as ample liberty to act, as for the last half century he has had to think. Then first will our eyes be greeted with the dawn of another golden age of German poesy, of a poetic future which may be more spiritual, without presenting less of material beauty, than the past ; in which the reflection of years may be added to the passion of youth ; and wherein, we may believe, will be harmoniously blended the various elements of all preceding literary epochs, — the valor of the ancient bards with the love of the sweet singers of chivalry, the religion of Klopstock with the gayety of Wieland, the nationality of Lessing with the universality of Herder, and the soul of Schiller's verse with the form of Goethe's.

Art. V. — 1. *State Stocks and Revenues, comprising Statistical Tables of the Stocks, Debts, Expenditures, and Revenues of each of the United States.* New York. 1841. pp. 8.

2. *Report of the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, on the Subject of the Five Million Loan Bonds.* February, 1843.

3. *Message of Governor McNutt to the Legislature of the State of Mississippi.* January, 1841.

4. *Message of Governor Porter to the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania.* January, 1843.

These documents are connected with a subject of great public importance. Disgrace has fallen upon the people of this country in the eyes of the civilized world, and it becomes us to inquire how far we deserve it, how far it is unmerited, by what means we can justly relieve ourselves from it, and

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what are to be the consequences of our continuing in the wrong. We believe that some injustice has been done by public opinion, and some needless alarm felt by those most directly interested, either through ignorance of the facts, or because they have been considered only in a hurried and imperfect manner. We have no doubt, also, that evil principles have been disseminated, and false ideas of duty and policy presented to the people, in connexion with this interesting subject, and that these can be effectually exposed only by discussion. We propose, therefore, to state the facts, as we suppose they really exist, and to examine some of the principles connected with the subject.

At the beginning of the year 1830, the States of this Union were in debt only for about $ 13,000,000. During the next seven years, the greater part of the present debt was contracted; and the State governments laid the foundation for the residue, by authorizing loans, and commencing public works upon which the money was to be expended.

These seven years formed one of the most extraordinary financial periods — perhaps the most extraordinary one — the world has ever seen, and nowhere were its character and effects so fully exhibited as in this country. It may not, therefore, prove uninteresting to trace rapidly the causes which led to this remarkable state of things in the United States. Great injustice has been done to the American people by leaving out of view the general state of financial affairs at the time when their debts were contracted, and when some of the States failed to pay the interest which was due.

The peace of 1815 found Europe, and, to some extent, this country also, exhausted by the wars which were then terminated. Great public debts had been created; population had been kept down by the drain upon it for the armies; production was diminished, and commerce had but a feeble life. The habits and pursuits of the people had so long been formed to a state of war, that time was requisite to allow the general peace of the world to produce its effects. This change, however, soon began to be accomplished, and the world was not slow in obtaining the benefit of the new condition of things. Reverses more or less severe occasionally came, especially that most serious one in England, in 1825 and 1826, which was felt in this country also. But, on the whole,

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the affairs of all commercial and manufacturing countries were in a hopeful state. Wealth was increasing; population was greatly multiplied; production was enlarged still faster than population; and the general condition of man in most civilized countries was constantly improving. We felt some checks during the period between 1815 and 1829, but they were beneficial rather than injurious, for they tended to keep the country in a sober and calm state, and to make men industrious and economical, without seriously impairing their resources. When General Jackson became President, in 1829, there was a general and well grounded belief, that the financial affairs of the country were prosperous, and that we were in a condition to go forward with accelerated speed.

In 1834, the last instalment of our public debt was paid. No more money went out of the country through this channel. This was an event of great importance to the country, and certainly its importance was not inadequately estimated either at home or abroad. Here, the party newspapers made the most of it with the people, in order to obtain credit for the preceding administrations which had planned it, and for the existing administration by which it had been accomplished. Abroad, it was considered very striking from its novelty; for we were the first, and are still the only, nation in modern times, which has ever wholly freed itself from debt. This fact tended to raise the spirits of the country, to give the people great confidence in their resources, and to incite them to large undertakings.

During this period, our manufactures increased much; and a beneficial change was taking place in an important branch of commerce. Instead of sending little or nothing but specie beyond the Cape of Good Hope, wherewith to purchase agricultural and manufactured products, our own manufactures began not only to supply our own wants to a great extent, but to be carried elsewhere. A new course of trade was thus opened, a good market being provided for the products of our own labor, and the money was kept at home which was formerly sent abroad to buy those of other nations.

At the same time, another important change was taking place in trade. Under the old system, large amounts of specie were carried to China, to the East Indies, and to

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South America, for the purchase of cargoes. Much of this same specie, sooner or later, found its way to London, or to places where it was under the immediate control of the merchants and bankers of that city. It thus performed long and hazardous voyages, at great expense, and wholly without necessity. The transportation of money in this form, to some extent, is necessary. The laws of trade require it to be carried from one country to another to settle balances of account; and it must go from a place where it is less, to one where it is more valuable. But to carry it to the East Indies, and pay it to a merchant there who the next week sends it to London, creates an expense of freight, interest, and insurance, without necessity. This is so plain in principle, as to have given rise, long ago, to the practice and laws of bills of exchange; but it was reserved for the period of which we are now speaking to give the fullest effect to this practice in this country, by establishing, in our principal commercial cities, agents of merchants and bankers resident in London, with authority to grant letters of credit to a merchant about to send abroad for a cargo. By virtue of such a letter, the master, or supercargo, or some merchant at the port of destination, is authorized to draw bills of exchange on the merchant or banker in London for a specified amount, and with these bills, or their proceeds, when sold in the market of the place, the cargo is purchased. The borrowing merchant, on his part, agrees to place funds in London wherewith to meet the bills at maturity. It is obvious, that this arrangement, besides saving large risks and expenses, must set free a great amount of capital. If employed only in safe and legitimate transactions, it would release for a considerable period all the capital necessary for them. But its effects did not stop here. At a period when confidence was rising and profits seemed certain, this new arrangement began to be resorted to as a new mode of obtaining means with which to trade; while, at the same time, the general confidence and the apparent prosperity made it very easy to obtain bills. Credit to an immense amount was thus created, and our whole commerce felt the stimulating effects of this new cause.

While this change was taking effect, the war between the government of the United States and the Bank of the United States was carried on; the public deposits were removed

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from that bank to State banks ; and in anticipation of the time when the charter of that institution would expire, local banks were chartered all over the country. In seven years, from 1830 to 1837, the nominal capital of these banks was increased from one hundred and ten millions of dollars to two hundred and twenty-five millions. Paper money multiplied still faster. This increase had a necessary effect on prices. The ease with which money was obtained, and the apparent profit from its use, led to the multiplication of engagements of all kinds and to every form of speculation, to an amount, which, if it could be correctly ascertained, would, even now, fill us with astonishment.

If we add, that, while these causes were in full operation, and were gradually working together to produce their natural effects, some of the States began to receive and expend the great sums of money they had obtained upon loan, and that our own country, in its agriculture and other important resources, had been making a real and great progress, while other countries, and especially England, were in a similar state of excitement, and were constantly reacting on us, — if we add all these circumstances together, we shall have little cause to wonder, that the American people were brought into that most extraordinary condition in which their public debts were contracted. Former times may have exhibited as great madness, but it reached fewer persons. At no other period did the wild spirit of adventure become epidemic over so many countries, till it seemed to affect the whole world. At this time, commerce and manufactures had largely increased. Wealth had been both accumulated and diffused to an extent before unknown. Wonderful improvements in the means of communication, across wide seas and through great continents, had brought all civilized, and especially all commercial, men within one common atmosphere of sentiment and opinion. A long and unbroken peace, in whose sunshine population had increased, and production been stimulated, and private enterprise suffered to act freely, incited men to large undertakings. Some, who in former times would have found occupation, suited to their daring tempers, in the field, embarked their recklessness in commerce; others, whose rashness, under ordinary circumstances, would have been soon checked by disaster, or prevented from showing itself by want of means, found that their energy and love of

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adventure had made them leaders ; and others still, whose fears would have been roused by danger, lost all hesitation in the general confidence. Men acted as if a short and secure road to wealth had been discovered, on which all might travel, and he who went the fastest would be the first to reach the desired end. The result was such a morbid tendency to excess in all financial affairs, as had never before been witnessed. In those countries where the currency was bank paper, the quantity of money in circulation was enormously increased. Partly in consequence of this increase, and partly on account of the sanguine hopes of men, prices continued to rise. All uses of capital seemed to be followed by certain and large returns, and men were therefore eager to borrow. All pursuits appeared to be safe and prosperous, and therefore those who had money were desirous to lend it. So much security was felt, that little security was asked ; and to obtain money, nothing more was necessary than to show the lender, that it was to be employed in some magnificent scheme, which stood well with the large expectations of the time, and was in season with the glorious summer of men's hopes.

At this same period, and partly in consequence of this extraordinary state of things, there arose in this country a vehement desire to construct great public works, chiefly such as facilitate and promote internal communication.* We do not mean to say, that the desire was then new. The people of this country are far too sagacious, not to have discovered, before that time, the great value of such works, and the extraordinary natural opportunities for them presented by this continent. They have not much taste for cathedrals and palaces, but "the useful magnificence of roads and bridges" excites their admiration. They knew well enough, that a canal or a railroad, piercing a great tract of country, was of immense importance to them. They quite comprehended its objects, and did not underestimate

* It would seem, that contracting public debts for such objects was a new thing, for M. Say lays it down, as one of his principles, that, "There is this grand distinction between an individual borrower and a borrowing government, that, in general, the former borrows capital for the purpose of its beneficial employment, the latter for the purpose of barren consumption and expenditure. Nations *never* borrow but with a view to consume outright."

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its effects ; and when their hopes had been raised, and their judgment somewhat disordered by the fever in their veins, and they saw the means of accomplishing these great objects not only within reach, but almost thrust into their hands, it is not strange that they seized upon them with incautious eagerness, and expended them with a prodigality somewhat in proportion to the ease with which they were obtained.

We repeat, therefore, that great injustice must be done to the people of this country, if the general state of men's minds and of financial affairs is left out of view in considering the subject of their indebtedness. They have been rash, but it was at a time when rashness was epidemic. They have been improvident, but it was when prudence was generally considered little better than narrow-minded timidity. Their fault may have been very great, but it was very general, and it was a fault of which the creditor largely partook with the debtor. If it was rash and improvident in them to borrow, it was rash and improvident in others to lend ; for, in these cases, the lenders had almost as good means of knowing the grounds of credit as the borrowers had. The borrowers were States, whose resources and means of payment are necessarily made public, so that all may know them. The works on which the money was to be expended were public works ; their character and purposes were known ; and when the loan was obtained for a specific and declared object, which it often was, the reasonableness and the probable results of the undertaking were open to the judgment of all intelligent men. In our opinion, it was the duty of the lender to exercise his judgment on these points. It is reasonable to expect, that creditors will not only be vigilant, but suspicious ; for those qualities naturally grow out of the relation of debtor and creditor when it is formed, and they spring up whenever an attempt is made to form it. The fears of creditors, and of those who are asked to become creditors, not seldom lead to untrue judgments and harsh constructions, which are not to be blamed, because they contribute to the general safety. But when we find rashness where we had a right to expect caution, and a blind confidence in place of a careful examination into means and plans, we cannot doubt, that the general infatuation must thereby be increased, and that they who have departed so widely from the qualities which usually belong to their position have done much to produce the mischief.

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Let us not be misconstrued into saying one word that tends to affect the legal and moral obligation of any contract made under these circumstances. What we have said does not touch that obligation. The parties were competent to make contracts. The borrowers were free States, whose public acts were done by the responsible agents and immediate representatives of the whole people. Of course, it is not intended to intimate, that such a degree of infatuation might exist as would relieve one of the parties from the obligation of its contracts. This would be to stultify a sovereign State; a process which would certainly be entirely new in the history of public law, and one to which, it is presumed, no State would very willingly submit. Our remarks have no reference to the binding force of the contracts. They are applicable, not to the will to pay, but to the ability to pay. They tend to excuse *insolvency*, not *fraud*. They present some reasons why a people, who admit their indebtedness, may, at the same time, without dishonor, admit their inability to make payment. It is often dangerous to run too close a parallel between public and private duties. The rules for the conduct of States and of individuals are not identical, though it is not always easy to see just where they differ. But in this matter, we can perceive no distinction between the case of an upright and well-meaning man, who cannot pay his debts, and a State which is in the like predicament. The mere fact of insolvency furnishes no ground for inferring bad faith, or even bad judgment. The circumstances under which the debts were contracted, and especially the inducements which led to them, must be taken into the account, before any decision unfavorable to the debtor can justly be made. And if it is found, that a State has been led astray partly by the insane confidence of its creditors, those creditors must bear some of the blame which always attaches to unsuccessful rashness.

There is another fact, which it is important to keep in view. The real prosperity of the States at the time when these debts were contracted, especially when seen under the bright sunshine which then rested upon all things, was a cause, and, to a great extent, a just cause, of confidence. Their progress in every thing which makes a people great, and powerful, and rich, had been unexampled. Look at their population; in thirty years, it had increased from seven

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millions to seventeen millions. This increase took place, not in a country already overstocked, and where the means of employment and subsistence are constantly sought after by those who are too numerous to be supplied ; but in a country wide enough to afford ample room ; fertile to produce the means of subsistence ; full of all natural resources to invite and reward enterprise ; governed by laws that left the freest scope for the energies of the people. Let it be borne in mind, also, that this people came from that Northern stock, which has always been so full of vigor ; that they have a hereditary right to energy of character ; and that, in this New World, they have been so stimulated by the opportunities and wants of their country as to be incapable of idleness, — finding no satisfaction but in exertion, and no rest, so to speak, but in continual labor.

The results have corresponded to the causes. The domestic produce of the country exported in 1824 was of the value of $ 50,000,000 ; in 1830, it was $ 107,000,000. The post-office received and expended, in 1837, about $ 4,000,000 ; and in 1830, only $ 2,000,000 ; it carried the mail, in 1836, over 32,000,000 of miles of post-roads, though in 1830, it carried them over only 14,500,000 miles ; and in 1800, the distance was only about 3,000,000 of miles. Our manufactures had been created, and a great amount of capital had been invested in them. They had been extended, till they were capable of supplying nearly all our own wants, and many of those of foreign nations. In some articles, they had reached a point where they were above foreign competition ; in others, they were fast approaching it. Regarded at first as hostile to commerce, on account of the restrictions which were partly designed to encourage them, they were now beginning to pay the debt which they had owed to foreign trade, by furnishing some of its safest exports.

But these things, important as they are, give only a faint idea of what our people had accomplished. The stories of the old poets concerning heroes, who built cities by the shore of the sea, and, by their own mighty energies and the direct assistance of divine power, created states, that were secured by laws, supplied by industry, and adorned with the arts of life, do not sound incredible or strange in our ears.

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In the lifetime of one generation, we have seen an extent of wilderness that seemed illimitable divided into cultivated farms ; solitary inland seas made glad with the presence of an active and prosperous commerce ; great rivers, whose waters formerly reflected only the shadows of the forest, running by the luxurious abodes of civilized men, and bearing the varied products of labor ; cities, which are already worthy of the name, filled with an industrious and intelligent population, springing up in the solitary places ; nay, great states, whose people are reckoned by millions, brought into existence and established during this short period.

What wonder, then, that such a people should have felt confidence in their resources ? They knew their means had been sufficient to accomplish things which the rest of the world looked upon as impossible. They knew, that the tide of prosperity had been rising so fast, that it had borne every thing along with it. Is it strange, that they should have been led astray by hope, and brought into the midst of difficulty by want of caution ? Let us, then, be just to ourselves. Let us not sit down under the imputation, that no more wisdom was to be expected from a government of the people. We deny that more wisdom was to be expected of *any* government in similar circumstances. Such mistakes are not new. Other governments have done such things before, and with far less excuse.

We do not, however, acquit some of the States of all blame for contracting such great debts. They acted incautiously, and bitterly have they repented of it. But we do maintain, that, when the circumstances under which the debts were contracted, and the objects for which the supplies were thus obtained, are fairly examined, those governments will not be found exposed to the severe censure which they have incurred. Being human, they were imperfect. Success is the sole test with common minds. They who are wiser will look at the causes of failure, and see whether these are such as ought reasonably to have been foreseen.

It is easy for observers to see now, that the unnatural state of things which existed in 1835 and 1836 could not long continue. A few sagacious men, so placed as to be able to survey the whole field of commerce, saw this at the time ; though we doubt if any one understood, or even conjectured, how extensive the malady was. Even these

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few began at last to doubt, whether they, or all the rest of mankind, were mad. The bubble was so strong, and lasted so well, that it seemed almost impossible that it should be a bubble.

But at last, the fixed laws of trade began to produce their long deferred, but necessary, effects. Contracts of all kinds had multiplied to such an extent, that a great deal of money was wanted to fulfil them. Prices were so high, that much more money was needed to effect the transfer of property than in the ordinary state of the market. In the midst of the greatest apparent prosperity, there was a great demand for money. The supply had increased enormously, but it was not sufficient. The banks did their utmost, but they could not keep up to the demand. Money became scarcer and dearer. There was now a choice among borrowers, and a discrimination between those whose credit rested on something, and those whose credit had no solid support. It was difficult for any one to get money. Many could not get it at all, and failures began to take place. The process went on, and confidence fell lower, and failures were multiplied daily.

It may here be remarked, that, if the Bank of England had curtailed its issues early in 1836, a check would have been felt, which would probably have gradually reduced our headlong speed, and prevented the great calamity of a failure of all our banks. The managers of that bank certainly had the means of knowing, that prices, both in England and the United States, and especially in the latter country, were inflated most unnaturally ; that fictitious credit to an immense amount had been created, and was constantly increasing ; that speculative engagements were enormously multiplied, and that there was a constant drain of specie from Great Britain. Notwithstanding all this, the bank continued to extend its engagements until August, 1836, when, finding its specie slipping rapidly away, it began to fear for its own safety. Still its course was rather vacillating for several months, until it finally gave a decisive blow, by stopping the credit and cutting off the facilities of several of the American banking-houses in London. These banking-houses were, therefore, obliged to call on our merchants for immediate payment, and our merchants required specie from the banks wherewith to make payments. At that moment, no ordinary supply of specie could have prevented a suspension of payment by

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the banks. The immediate issue of more than a million sterling of bonds of the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania, designed to serve as remittances, had no perceptible effect. There was very little real exchange to meet the great and pressing want. Exchange based on credit had ceased to exist; nothing remained but to send specie, and of course it could not be obtained in the great sums which were needed, without causing all the banks sooner or later to fail.

But it should be remembered, that this suspension took place, not in a state of exhaustion, but after years of unexampled gains, and after the country had made real and great advances in all its permanent sources of wealth. The fearful rate at which we had been moving rendered some check inevitable; but we had been all the time moving onward, and mainly in the right direction. The check was sudden and violent. It stopped us short, and we stood still. For some months, all the energies of the country were employed in liquidating and paying debts. It is speaking within bounds, to say, that, within a few months, engagements amounting to many hundreds of millions were paid off. Imports almost ceased, our crops went to market, specie flowed in, and, at the end of the year 1837, our foreign commercial debt was nearly paid.

The country was then in a condition to resume the payment of specie through its banks. But the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, and some other great institutions, were not ready. During the years of high prices, they had lent their capital on paper which rested only on the exaggerated and unreal values of that period; and an immediate return to specie payments would have shown, that their capital had been very seriously impaired. The United States Bank of Pennsylvania, therefore, at first opposed the resumption of specie payments; and subsequently, when compelled to come into the arrangement, it seems to have adopted the bold measure of attempting to bring back the unnatural state of things which had existed before May, 1837; hoping, that, by means of high prices and unlimited credit, it might be able gradually to withdraw itself from its dangerous position. It entered largely into the purchase of State stocks, speculations in cotton, and other transactions. It was impossible, in the nature of things, that this scheme

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should succeed; but it had some effect. Many began to think that the reverses of 1837 were small affairs, and that they were already overcome; that the disease was cured, and the patient restored to a sound state and ready for action. Our foreign commercial debt had been paid with so much promptness, that European capitalists formed a very high opinion both of our resources and our honor, and they took the stocks of the States as freely as if they had been gold and silver.

But the day of calamity was again at hand. The Bank of England again found itself in a critical condition. Money became scarce, beyond all precedent, in England; prices fell; stocks were unsalable; the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania again stopped payment, and its example was followed by every bank south of Philadelphia. Men's eyes were at last opened. They saw, that the country had not recovered from the effects of the years of speculation, and that the attempts to return to a false position had but increased their difficulties. A panic succeeded. All property seemed for a time to have lost its value. These were necessary results of the former distempered state of affairs, and this depression was the only method by which a sound condition of things could be produced. But it was a severe operation.

In some of the new States, it was difficult even for the wealthy to obtain money for the daily uses of life. We have heard of farmers, owning large and well stocked farms, who could hardly get money enough to pay the postage on a letter. They had scarcely any currency, and most of that which they had was bad. In the commercial States, matters were but little better. Failures were almost innumerable. Trade had fallen off, and, when prosecuted, was hazardous. A deep gloom settled upon men's minds. Governments felt it as much as individuals. Their ordinary resources were diminished. Their means of obtaining extraordinary supplies were lessened in proportion to the general distress. The physical means of making payment of their debts were wanting in some States, for there was no money to be had. The people were amazed at the extent of their own disasters, and afraid to act in any way, lest they should run into new mistakes. In was in such a posture of affairs, that some of the States, to which we shall more particularly refer,

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refused, and others omitted, to provide for the interest which had become payable on their debts.

The first of these cases which we shall notice is that of Pennsylvania. On the first of August, 1842, the interest on its funded debt became due and was not paid. It having been foreseen, that there would be no money in the treasury with which to meet the dividend, amounting to eight hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars, an act was passed by the legislature, directing the treasurer to borrow the sum necessary for its payment, and, in the event of his being unable to obtain it on the terms proposed, authorizing the issue of certificates, to the persons entitled to dividends of interest, for the sums due to them, payable in August, 1843, with interest at the rate of six *per cent.* A law was subsequently passed, authorizing the issue of certificates in payment of the two succeeding dividends, bearing interest at the rate of six *per cent. per annum*, and redeemable in August, 1846. These certificates, with the interest which has accrued upon them, are yet unpaid.

The whole amount of the funded debt of this State on the first of January, 1843, was $ 37,937,788·24, payable at different periods, and in different sums, the last of which will fall due in the year 1870.* The internal improvements, for the construction of which the great bulk of the debt is due, consist of seven hundred and ninety-three miles of rail-ways and canals which are completed, and one hundred and forty miles of canals in progress and nearly completed in January last. The principal work, or rather chain of works, is that be-

* This debt was contracted for the following purposes :

For canals and rail-ways,	$ 30,533,629·15
To pay interest on the public debt,	4,410,135·03
For the use of the treasury,	1,571,689·00
Turnpike, State roads, &c.,	930,000·00
Union Canal,	200,000.00
Eastern Penitentiary,	120,000·00
Franklin Rail-road,	100,000·00
Pennsylvania and Ohio Canal,	50,000,00
Insane Asylum,	22,335·06
	37,937,788·24
To this may now be added the amount of certificates authorized to be issued in payment of the last two semi-annual dividends of interest, amounting to	1,787,454·89
Making a total of	$ 39,725,243·13

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tween Philadelphia and Pittsburg, extending nearly the whole length of the State, a distance of three hundred and ninety-five miles, and connecting the Atlantic with the Ohio River and the great Western waters.

These are the objects on which far the greatest part of the money borrowed by the State has been expended. It is manifest, that such works must be highly important and useful to Pennsylvania, independently of the revenues which they may yield. From various causes, which our limits do not permit us to notice, these revenues have thus far disappointed the expectations of the people. But the Governor presented to the legislature, in January last, a very encouraging account of the income from the works during the year then just elapsed, and facts may be cited which go far to prove, that the profit which the State will hereafter derive from them must be very great.

Pennsylvania contains 1,724,000 free people, inhabiting a territory of 47,000 square miles. The soil is generally fertile, and, being under good cultivation, the amount of its agricultural products is very great. Their annual value was estimated in 1842 to be $126,620,617. The manufactures during the same period, including iron, were estimated at upwards of $64,000,000. The coal mined in the State during the same time was worth about $9,000,000. It appears, then, that the annual products of the State amount to the enormous value of $200,000,000. The annual charge upon the State for the interest upon its debts is, in round numbers, $2,000,000. Suppose the public works were to yield no revenue at all, and the whole of this charge were to fall on the people in a direct tax; it is only one *per cent.* on their annual products. A capitation tax of one dollar a head would nearly pay it. Of course, no burden of debt can be pronounced heavy or light except by comparing it with the resources and means of the debtor, and such a comparison will show, that Pennsylvania is not heavily burdened. Her vast and easily wrought mines of the best kinds of coal, lying side by side with inexhaustible treasuries of the richest iron ore, her abundant supply of water-power, her fertile soil, temperate climate, and industrious and frugal population, are resources so immense, that even her great debt appears but a light incumbrance. There cannot be the smallest doubt, that she is able, without the least embarrassment, to fulfil all

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her engagements. It is a lamentable fact, that she has not done so ; but there has been a concurrence of causes to produce this result, most of which have no connexion with the honesty of her people. We deny, that any man has the right to say, that Pennsylvania has acted fraudulently. Mistakes in judgment have been committed, and we are sorry to add, that there has been some remissness of conduct. There has, also, been clearly shown a disposition to do right. The measures taken by the legislature to raise the necessary revenue, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, have proved insufficient ; but they were adopted for that purpose, and were such as not fairly to be open to the charge of being mere pretences. Besides raising more than $ 300,000 for the support of the schools, the ordinary expenses of the government are fully provided for by taxes of some years' standing. In addition to these, which are indirect taxes, the legislature voted a direct tax of one mill upon every dollar of taxable property in the State, and by a law passed in 1842, which was designed to go into effect in 1843, this tax was doubled. The produce of the first-mentioned tax of one mill was about half a million of dollars, and if another half million were raised by the law last mentioned, as the legislature designed to do, the sum, together with the revenue actually realized from the public works, would pay about nine tenths of the interest on the funded debt. But there was some ambiguity in the law, and in some counties advantage was taken of the doubt thus created to avoid payment of the tax. This is one of the embarrassments in the details of a law which often occur in practice ; but it will undoubtedly be remedied by further legislation. The State has also had a large unfunded debt, due chiefly to contractors on the public works ; and to the payment of this sum the revenues of the State have been applied. We understand, that this unfunded debt is now paid, and that, for the future, the revenues from direct taxation and the public works will be applicable to the payment of the interest on the State stock. We have already said, that they will be sufficient to pay about nine tenths of it, and, if the income from the public works should not increase, it will only be needful to provide for the arrears of interest since August, 1842, and for the remaining tenth part of the interest hereafter to accrue. Those who know Pennsylvania entertain no great doubt respecting her future

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course; and the moment the State shows a determination to pay punctually, there will not be the smallest difficulty in obtaining, by a permanent loan, the means of paying the arrears of interest.

Maryland is another delinquent State, which has failed, during the last two years, to make payment of the interest on her public debt. The bonds of this State which have been issued amount to a little more than $15,000,000, but of these about $3,175,000, issued to the Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road, have not been negotiated, and should they be negotiated, the interest on them will be paid by the company. Of the residue, nearly $1,300,000 are the property of the State, having been purchased by the income of the sinking fund. These bonds are subject to different rates of interest, the greater part being at five *per cent.*, and the whole interest, after deducting what goes to the sinking fund, amounting to something less than $600,000 a year.

The whole of this debt, with the exception of $215,947, was contracted for purposes of internal improvement, partly by subscriptions to stock in canal and rail-road companies, on account of the State, and partly by grants, in the form of loans, to such companies, they being bound to pay the interest on the bonds, and ultimately to repay the principal, — the works of the said companies being mortgaged for the security of the respective debts. In making these large advances, and entering into these engagements, the legislature of the State relied upon the income of the works to meet the interest of the debt. In this expectation they have been disappointed. The Baltimore and Ohio Rail-road alone has made an adequate return for the expenditure. The sum of $1,022,000, invested in the stocks of this rail-road, earns an income of seven *per cent. per annum.* The sum of $2,232,000, invested in the bonds and stock of the Baltimore and Susquehannah Rail-road, has made some small return, and there is a prospect, that the income from this source will slightly increase. On $1,000,000, loaned to the Susquehannah Tide-water Canal, no return has yet been received; but it is confidently anticipated, that this canal will shortly be able to pay the interest on the loan, amounting to $55,000 *per annum.* The largest investments have been made in the stocks and bonds of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal company. This canal being yet unfinished, and requiring a fur-

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ther sum of a million and a half or two millions of dollars to complete it, no income is expected from it, until the means shall be found to raise that sum, and extend the canal to the coal-mines near Cumberland. Some smaller advances, which have been made to other companies, are not expected to make any return. The annual income, therefore, which can be, for the present, anticipated from the public works, is limited to about $ 150,000. The residue of the interest, amounting to about $ 450,000, must, therefore, be met by taxation. A direct tax, sufficient for this object, was voted by the legislature ; but in consequence of the severe embarrassments of the last three years, and of the want of a proper system for the collection of direct taxes, a large proportion of the taxes for the years 1841, 1842, and 1843 has been suffered to fall in arrear, and in consequence, the means of the treasury have been inadequate to the payment of the interest on the debt. From January, 1842, this interest has not been paid, except that for some part *coupons* have been issued, promising payment at a future day, and receivable in payment of taxes. For the restoration of the credit of the State, it is necessary that the arrears of interest should be provided for, which can be done in the manner spoken of in the case of Pennsylvania, and by enforcing a more prompt payment of taxes. The taxes already levied appear to be fully sufficient for this object, if collected. Maryland has other revenues, independent of the direct taxes, amply sufficient for meeting all the other expenditures of the State. These taxes, to nearly the whole amount now levied, will be necessary to pay the interest on the debt, until an income shall be derived from the large investments in the loans or stocks of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and Susquehannah Rail-road and for this purpose these taxes must be enforced. As levied by the legislature, they amount to twenty-five cents upon every hundred dollars of taxable property in the State. We do not say this is a trifling burden. It requires resolution to sustain it. But the case presents every motive which can operate upon the minds of honorable men to induce them to make the effort. The money was borrowed by *their* agents. It has been expended upon *their* soil. Its results, thus far, may not be such as they desire ; but for this their own agents, and they themselves, who selected those agents, and from year to year

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sanctioned their proceedings, are alone to be blamed. The debt is a just debt. They *can*, and they *will* pay it. We look upon the position and future conduct of this State as of the greatest importance to the honor, the credit, and the future reputation of the whole country. It occupies a position, and is placed in circumstances, which render its action almost decisive of the fate of this great question of public morals. Pennsylvania can pay, almost without an effort. Her debt is really nothing compared with her resources. Indiana and Illinois are differently situated, and at present cannot pay. Maryland occupies an intermediate position. She *can* pay, but it costs her a strong effort to do so. Her condition is such as to try her sense of honor. Hers is the opportunity to settle the question, whether a popular government is too selfish to be just. Her people have it in their power to say to the world, "We are capable of governing ourselves, for we can make sacrifices for the sake of duty and honor; no human power can force them upon us, but we freely make them. We owe allegiance neither to kings, nor princes, nor to any earthly potentate; but we obey His will who created us, and we are governed by His laws. Freely and cheerfully, because we know it to be our duty, will we do this thing." Let the people of Maryland remember, also, that, if they make this effort, they will transmit to their children the inheritance of an untarnished honor; that they will lay the foundations of public prosperity deep and strong in the public faith; that the sacrifices which they are now called upon to make cannot long be necessary, and will grow less with the increase of population and wealth, and the rising income from the public works. That they may see these things, and act as if they saw them, is the earnest wish of many who love their country, and think that its honor and welfare are deeply involved in the issue.

The miserable sophistry, for we can call it by no better name, with which some have attempted to delude the people of Maryland into a belief, that their legislature had not the constitutional power to contract these debts, would not be worthy of a moment's attention, if the subject on which it is employed were not of such importance. There is an article in the Bill of Rights of this State of the following tenor: "Every person in the State ought to contribute his proportion of public taxes *for the support of government*, accord-

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ing to his actual worth in real and personal property." The argument is, that the legislature has power to tax the people *only* "for the support of government"; that the construction of rail-roads and canals is not one of the legitimate objects of government, and, therefore, it is not within the constitutional power of the legislature to tax the people to make or pay for them.

We can hardly call this an ingenious argument, for ingenuity would certainly have devised something which should have the appearance of truth; but here is involved so palpable a falsehood, that it is difficult to believe it could ever impose on any body. Not one of the legitimate objects of government to build rail-ways and canals! How is this question to be settled? First of all, by the universal practice of all civilized governments. That which every civilized people, under every form of administration, has caused its government to do, may well be thought to be within the legitimate powers of a government. And what people has ever doubted, that the building of roads and bridges was a subject not only fit for the action of government, but necessarily under its *exclusive control?* Have the people of Maryland ever doubted this? Let them consult their own statutes and ordinances, and see, whether, from the first moment when they acted in a political capacity, this subject has not always been ranked among the powers which the government has exercised. Not only has this been the universal practice, but it is *absolutely requisite that the practice should continue.* Keeping open the means of communication between one part of the territory of a State and another, and affording facilities of passage for persons and property over land by means of convenient roads, and over the waters by means of bridges and ferries, is absolutely necessary. Hardly any object of civil society can be accomplished without them, and the right of *eminent domain* not only always has been, but always must be, exercised for this end. It has been seriously doubted, whether a government acts wisely in delegating this power to private corporations, even where they are held in check by the legislature; but we never heard it suggested, that a government could delegate this power without first possessing it. It is very clear, therefore, that these objectors would never have a road made, or a bridge built, or a ferry established, or a canal dug, within

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the limits of their State; — not by the government, for it is not within the powers delegated to the State; not by those authorized by the government, for the administration certainly cannot empower a corporation or an individual to take land and other private property for a purpose which the government itself has not a right to effect. We suppose no one will be so hardy as to attempt to make a distinction between a ferry and a canal, or a bridge and a rail-road. The power of states over this subject arises from the nature of the object to be accomplished, which is, to effect an easy, cheap, and safe passage; and, of course, it is restricted to no particular means.

The truth is, the whole argument betrays lamentable ignorance of the nature and objects of all social institutions, or it betrays something worse. The first object of government undoubtedly is, to secure its citizens from violence and wrong. But this by no means exhausts its powers, or fulfils its duties. It may do much towards the increase of knowledge, the advancement of education, both religious and secular, the progress of the sciences, the promotion of a free intercourse between communities and nations, and the increase and diffusion of wealth and comfort; and what it can do towards these objects, securely and wisely, it is bound to do. This duty has been felt by all governments, and to some extent has been performed by all. Great public works, designed for the common benefit, and executed by the combined power of the whole people, have always been looked upon as monuments of civilization, and of the wisdom and virtue of the administration which planned them. It is now for the first time denied that they are within its legitimate powers.

Of course, we do not here refer to the national government. The question, whether the Constitution of the United States gives the power to construct roads within the States, is an open and difficult one; but it has nothing to do with the subject here discussed. It turns, not on the general question, whether such works are legitimate objects for the action of government, but on the question, whether this power is granted in the Constitution of the United States. The question in Maryland is exactly the opposite; namely, Has this power been taken away from the legislature by the

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Bill of Rights? It must exist, unless it was abrogated by the article we have already quoted.

The word *repudiation*, in the sense in which it is now commonly used, was first adopted in the State of Mississippi. It occurred, for the first time, we believe, in the message of the Governor to the legislature of that State, in January, 1841, in which he adverts to the plan of "REPUDIATING the sale of certain of the State bonds, on account of fraud and illegality." The material facts in reference to the action of this State upon the subject of its debt are these. In 1838, the State chartered the Mississippi Union Bank, and, in order to provide capital for the institution, it was enacted in the charter, that the directors might borrow $ 15,500,000; and that the Governor might issue seven thousand five hundred bonds, for $ 2000 each, bearing five *per cent.* interèst, and redeemable in twelve, eighteen, and twenty years, and deliver them to the officers of that institution from time to time, in proportion to the amounts subscribed for bank stock, the price of which was to be secured to the satisfaction of the directors. The bonds were made negotiable by the indorsement of the president and cashier of the bank. By an additional act, the Governor was authorized to subscribe, in behalf of the State, for $ 5,000,000 of the stock of the bank; and he did so. In June, 1838, he delivered to the bank two thousand five hundred bonds, amounting to $ 5,000,000, payable in twelve and twenty years from the 5th day of February, 1838, and *bearing five per cent. interest from their date.* The charter required the bank to appoint three commissioners for the sale of the bonds, and imposed this restriction on their authority, *that the bonds should not be sold under their par value.* On the 18th of August, 1838, the commissioners sold all the bonds to Mr. Biddle for the sum of $ 5,000,000, payable in five equal instalments, of one million each, on the 1st day of November, 1838, and the first days of January, March, May, and July, 1839, *without interest.* This money was punctually paid to the bank, which went into operation; and before January, 1841, lost all its capital.

Now we feel constrained to say, that, if this matter had rested here, the State of Mississippi would not be *legally* bound to pay this debt. We think the commissioners did not conform to their authority in making the sale. They

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were, in terms, prohibited from selling the bonds *under their par value*. The par value of a bond is the amount which is due upon it; and this includes interest as well as principal. This seems to us to be the fair meaning of the words of the charter, and any other construction would render the restriction itself nugatory; since, by allowing the interest to accumulate long enough, the commissioners would have had it in their power to obtain $ 5,000,000 for the bonds, though at the very moment when they sold them, $ 7,000,000 might be due upon them. They made such a sale as not to receive in cash an amount equal to the liability of the State on the bonds, and therefore we believe that they exceeded their authority. We think, also, that the State had the legal right to insist at a proper time on this want of authority, even against the subsequent purchasers of these bonds; because any one who takes a title through an agent is bound by law to look to the authority delegated to him, and to see that he acts or has acted within its scope in making the title.

But we need hardly say, that the question, whether a sovereign state shall avail itself of its *legal* rights, depends upon considerations quite distinct from the mere rights themselves. Rules of jurisprudence are necessarily general, and, being general, they may, and sometimes do, work some injustice. A state, like an individual, ought to place itself quite above these general rules, and consider only the justice of the particular case. It is due to its own dignity, to the magnitude of the case, to the importance of preserving the great fountain of power and justice pure, that the most enlarged and liberal rules of equity should be observed. It is due to its position, being both a party in interest and a judge, to venture on no decision which will admit of question. And so the State of Mississippi must have thought, for so it acted.

In responding to the message of the Governor, in January, 1841, the legislature resolved,

"*First*, That the State of Mississippi is bound to the holders of the bonds of the State, sold on account of the bank, for the amount of the principal and interest.

"*Secondly*, That the State of Mississippi *will* pay her bonds and preserve her faith inviolate.

"*Thirdly*, That the insinuation, that the State of Mississippi would repudiate her bonds and violate her plighted faith, is a calumny upon the justice, honor, and dignity of the State."

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These resolves are such as might be expected from the legislature of a free state under such circumstances ; for a fact which we have not yet stated was known to that legislature, and, in our judgment, is sufficient to settle the question. The legislature met in 1839, for the first time after the sale of the bonds. *Only one fourth of the purchase money had then been paid over to the bank.* The facts were communicated by the Governor to the legislature, and they resolved : " *That the sale of the bonds was highly advantageous to the State and the bank, and in accordance with the injunctions of the charter, reflecting the highest credit on the Commissioners, and bringing timely aid to an embarrassed community.*" The next legislature, which assembled in 1840, appointed a committee on the affairs of the bank, but uttered not one word respecting the sale of the bonds.

But the constitution of Mississippi contains a provision, that no law shall be passed to raise a loan of money upon the credit of the State for the payment or redemption of any loan or debt, unless it be sanctioned by a majority of each house, the yeas and nays being entered on the journals, and be then referred to the next legislature, public notice whereof is to be given in the newspapers three months before the election ; and unless then passed by a majority in each branch of this second legislature. Upon the ground, that the State was not originally bound to pay this debt, and that the illegal acts of their agents had not been ratified by two successive legislatures, *after public notice in the newspapers*, Governor McNutt made his appeal to the people of the State, and, in 1842, a majority of the members of both branches of the legislature were found to be in favor of repudiation.

But although a majority of the people of Mississippi seem to have formed at that time an erroneous opinion on this question, and although we think meanly enough of the honesty of their advisers, we should not hastily adopt the conclusion, that the majority are hopelessly in the wrong. There has been, from the first, a large body of intelligent and honorable men in that State, who determined to do their duty upon this great question ; and they are now manfully engaged in the work. They have exhibited deep legal learning, sound logic, a clear perception of the great principles of justice and duty, and a calm determination which must

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and will prevail in the contest. It may not be during this year or the next; but it appears to us certain, that the people of this State will see the truth, and act in accordance with it. Sufficient allowance has not always been made for the peculiar circumstances of the case. An intelligent foreigner, who feels a just indignation when he hears of repudiation, probably knows the difference between a Highland chieftain and a London merchant, but is profoundly ignorant that differences quite as great exist between the people of Mississippi and the people of Massachusetts. Probably there are few points in which these differences would be so likely to be exhibited as upon this matter of paying debts. To pay debts punctually is *the* point of honor among all commercial people. But the planters of Mississippi do not so esteem it. They do not feel the importance of an exact conformity to contracts. It has not been their habit to meet their engagements on the very day, if not quite convenient. Certainly, they attach no idea of dishonesty to such a course of dealing. They mean to pay, but they did not expect, when they contracted the debt, to distress themselves about the payment. If a friend wants a thousand dollars for a loan or a gift, he can have it, though perhaps a creditor wants it also. We do not mean to intimate, that there are no high qualities in such a character; but they are different from those which make good bankers and merchants; and, therefore, bankers and merchants ought not to expect such men to look at a debt just as they do. In time, they will see the substance of the matter and act accordingly. Convince them that their State is now pursuing an arbitrary, unfair, and oppressive course of conduct, and they will take care that it is pursued no longer. They have been in great pecuniary distress. Their condition has been so bad, that they have looked upon a creditor demanding payment of his debt as little better than an enemy, and to be treated accordingly. They have seen, that the institution which had the proceeds of these bonds was managed as if it had been a gambling-house. They have been told by those in whom they had been accustomed to put confidence, that the sale of these bonds was a part of the same nefarious course of conduct which ruined the bank, and that, if they should pay the debt, they must do it for the benefit of those who defrauded the State in making the purchase of the bonds. We may

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deeply regret that they acted in conformity with these views. We may believe that the conduct of the State has been unwise and unfair; that it has shown any thing but that dignified caution, and that clear perception of the great principles of justice, equity, and clemency, which a sovereign state should always exhibit in its dealings with individuals, especially where it is both party and judge. But let us not show the same want of moderation, by running into extremes ourselves; let us not exhibit the same want of charity, by believing that a majority of the people of that State are knaves. Their affairs are now improving. The people are recovering from the sore and irritable state into which they had fallen. Allow time for them to see the truth, which the high-minded men of that State know so well how to exhibit and enforce, and we shall find, that, though the people may sometimes make a great mistake, they mean to do right, and they will discover and correct the error.

The State of Michigan has denied its obligation to pay a part of its outstanding bonds. The material facts are, that, by an act of the legislature of that State, passed on the 21st of March, 1837, amended by another act passed on the 15th of November in the same year, the Governor was authorized to negotiate for a loan of five millions of dollars, which was to be expended on the public works. Under this authority, the Governor, on the 1st of June, 1838, entered into a contract with the Morris Canal and Banking Company of the city of New York, by which he constituted that company the agents of the State to make sales of the five millions loan. The power of the Governor to enter into this contract with the Banking Company has not been questioned. Acting under this agency, the Banking Company, before the 15th of November, 1838, sold to various persons bonds amounting to $ 1,187,000, and duly paid over to the State the proceeds of those sales. On the 1st day of July, 1841, the interest on the bonds so sold became payable, and the State not having made provision for its payment, it remained unpaid. Reasons for this default were assigned by the legislature at a subsequent period, which seem to us to be well-founded and to afford sufficient excuse for it; but our limits will not permit us to examine or even to state them. Suffice it to say, that, in February, 1843, the legislature took the subject into consideration, declared that the State was

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"legally and equitably bound to provide for the payment of the principal and interest of these bonds," covenanted with the holders to fund the interest till July, 1845, pledged the revenue from the public works to the payment of the interest which should accrue after that time, and voted a direct tax to be assessed and levied in the same manner as the other State taxes, in order to pay any deficiency of the interest which that revenue might fail to meet. Thus far the conduct of the State has been such as the country had a right to expect.

We wish it were in our power to approve of its conduct in respect to the residue of this loan, the history of which is briefly as follows. The Morris Canal and Banking Company met with great difficulties in the sale of the residue of these bonds; and being called on by the Governor, in November, 1838, to state the account of their sales, and to make such suggestions as they should think important concerning future proceedings, replied by a proposal to pass the whole amount of the bonds, at par, after deducting their commission as agents, to the credit of the State of Michigan; provided the Governor would deliver to the Banking Company the whole of the bonds at once, and take the obligation of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania to pay three fourths, and of the Morris Canal and Banking Company to pay one fourth, of the amount, at certain periods which had been fixed in the contract of agency before mentioned. To this proposal the Governor replied, that he had no objection to the details; that their contract of agency gave them full powers to act as the interest of the State required, and that they must take the responsibility of deciding whether this was the best thing that could be done for the interest of the State. The Banking Company say, in answer, that they think it is best for the State to accept the offer, which had been made, and that they have closed the bargain. The Governor afterwards delivered the bonds, took the obligations of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania and the Morris Canal and Banking Company for the price, and in his next message announced the sale to the legislature, and communicated to them the documents respecting it. *The legislature interposed no objection.* Subsequently, the State received from the purchasers about $1,000,000, in part payment of their obligations, and then the United States

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Bank of Pennsylvania and the Morris Canal and Banking Company having both become insolvent, and having failed to pay the balance of the purchase money, the State declared, that it owed upon these bonds so much as the purchasers had paid, and that it was ready to issue new bonds for that amount upon the surrender of *all* the bonds so sold; and that as to the residue, "*it was a transaction between the State and the purchasers, and their agreements are to be judged of by the circumstances attending them.*"

It only remains to add, that these bonds, all of which went to the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, were pledged by that bank to various banking houses in Europe to secure money previously borrowed, money advanced at the time of making the pledges, and subsequently paid on the faith of the pledges; that the bonds are, in form and by law, negotiable; and that no evidence has ever appeared, so far as we know, that either of those banking houses had knowledge, at the time they took the bonds, or when they afterwards advanced money upon them, of any defect in the title of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania.

Now we should agree, at once, that, if the United States Bank of Pennsylvania and the Morris Canal and Banking Company held these bonds, the State might justly refuse to consider any greater amount of them as due than had been paid for. The law of all civilized countries would, in some way, come to this result. But every system of law with which we have any acquaintance, and certainly the law of Michigan, makes a distinction between the case of these banks and that of *bonâ fide* purchasers. We believe the principle to be universally admitted, that, whenever a purchaser of property *acquires a title* from the seller, which he can transmit, although that title be tainted with fraud, if he sells to a *bonâ fide* purchaser, who parts with his money, or any other thing of value, on the faith of the property, such purchaser obtains a valid title, purged of the fraud. This principle is not only well established, but society could hardly get along without it; and it is most often and most liberally applied *to the sales and transfers of negotiable securities.* That the United States Bank of Pennsylvania had a title, which it could transmit, does not admit of a doubt. The sale negotiated by the Morris Canal and Banking Company might have been open to some objection, as they were

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themselves the agents to sell, and seem to have been in some way interested in the purchase ; but, surely, it is too late to object, after the Governor, who was the immediately authorized agent of the State, had, with a knowledge of all the facts, ratified the contract and delivered the bonds, and after the legislature, with all the facts before them, had interposed no objection, and had taken one third of the purchase money. The only possible question, therefore, is, whether the European bankers parted with their money in good faith ; and we are not aware of any evidence to the contrary. The legislature do not assert, that these bankers had notice, either actual or constructive, of any fact which would deprive them of the protection due to all *bonâ fide* purchasers of negotiable securities. The mere fact, that the bonds had not been paid for, even if known to the persons to whom they were pledged, would not have this effect. It would be monstrous to say, that, because property bought on credit has not been paid for, the holder cannot give a good title to it. Such a doctrine would overset half the sales made in the country. But we repeat, we have never seen any evidence, or any reason to believe, that even this fact was known to the foreign bankers. To do the legislature justice, both by their committee and by the act relating to this subject, they preserve a silence which is dignified and proper, if they have no satisfactory evidence of such notice, but believe that inquiries made afterwards may possibly elicit it. And this we understand to be their position. But even without such evidence, we cannot doubt the equitable and legal claim of the holders of these bonds to be paid what is due on them, to the extent of the amount for which they were pledged. And we add, that we entertain as little doubt, that the State of Michigan will hereafter act according to this view of the subject, and adopt in reference to these bonds the same just and honorable measures which it has already taken concerning the others.

The State of Louisiana has loaned its credit to several banking corporations, the capital stock of which was secured by mortgages on real estate. The bonds issued by this State amount to about $22,000,000, of which about $17,000,000 have been sold. They are all payable in England. The immense trade of New Orleans, the port of entry and export for the great valley of the Mississippi, and

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all its tributary waters, has, for a long time, caused capital to be in great demand there; and this method of obtaining it, by means of loans to banks whose stock is secured by mortgages of real estate, was devised about twenty years ago. These banks were well managed, and from their profits a fund was accumulating, which, before the maturity of the bonds, would have been sufficient to redeem them.

But unfortunately, New Orleans partook quite as much as any other city, and probably more than any other, of the unnatural excitement of the times, and felt, more than any other, the corresponding depression which followed. During the period of prosperity, cotton, the great staple, bore very high prices; property of all kinds was held at values merely factitious, and, confidence being great, and credit being easily obtained, the banks discounted an immense amount of paper, which was found to be bad when the day of trial came. The consequence has been, that the resources of the banks have been very much diminished, and the assets of one or more of them may not be sufficient to pay the bonds loaned to them by the State. We do not think the deficit will be large. Our limits do not allow us to state their condition particularly; suffice it to say, that, if they are judiciously managed, we believe they can pay so large an amount of the bonds loaned to them, as to leave only a small sum to be paid by the State.

In no part of the United States are there men of higher honor, and greater intelligence respecting financial affairs, than in Louisiana. Nowhere is the necessity of preserving the public faith inviolate better known or more strongly felt. The State is gradually, but securely, rising from her great pecuniary difficulties; property is attaining its just and safe value; capital is again increasing rapidly, and, almost before they people are aware of it, they will again be in a prosperous condition. It is a high and clear duty of the people of this State to watch vigilantly over their crippled banks; to see that their assets are honestly applied to the payment of the bonds; and to adopt such legislative measures as shall secure and preserve the faith of the State towards its creditors, and procure for themselves again the use of the foreign capital which they so much need.

We regret, that there should be any thing in the legislation of Louisiana upon this subject to require comment; but we

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feel bound to say, that an act passed at the last session of the legislature, in reference to the liquidation of the affairs of some of the banks, is open to very serious objection. The act we refer to was passed on the 5th of April, 1843, and provides, that all debts due to the banks in question may be paid in State bonds issued by the banks, which bonds are to be received in payment at par. It must be borne in mind, that the capital stock of these banks consisted of the obligations of those who subscribed for the stock to pay the sums for which they subscribed, secured by mortgages on real estate ; and before these bonds were issued, it was provided by law, that these obligations of the stockholders, together with the mortgages by which they were secured, should be deposited in the offices of the banks *for safe keeping, and as a guaranty for the reimbursement of the principal and interest of the bonds to be issued by the State ;* and that all the hypothecary obligations, of whatever nature, subscribed by individuals in favor of the banks, should stand as collateral security for the payment of the money loaned on the bonds of the State, and the interest which should accrue thereon. Now there is not the smallest doubt, that this law amounted to a contract made by the State and the banks with every bond-holder, that these mortgages should be held by the banks in trust, to secure the payment of the money loaned on the bonds. There is not a court in the country, which would hesitate so to declare upon these facts. And when the State placed these banks in liquidation, and thus took the control of their affairs, it was bound to guard this trust strictly and faithfully. It had no right to receive depreciated bonds at par, in payment for well secured debts which it held in trust for third persons. What would the law of Louisiana, or the courts of Louisiana, say to a tutor or guardian, who should receive depreciated paper in payment of a debt due to his ward, secured by mortgage ? Undoubtedly, they would say it was unfaithful administration, and would order him to make good the difference. And may the legislature itself justly do what its own laws condemn as unfaithful and unjust ? As a question of right, this matter admits of no doubt. As a question of the constitutional power of the legislature, it is equally clear. This law impairs the obligation of a plain contract between the State and the banks on the one part, and the bond-holders on

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the other; and it is therefore in conflict not only with the Constitution of the United States, but with the fundamental law of Louisiana, which prohibits the legislature from enacting any law impairing the obligation of a contract. There are other grave objections to this law, which our limits do not permit us to state.

In regard to the States of Indiana and Illinois, we have very little to say. Indiana has a debt of more than $ 13,000,000, with a population of about 700,000 souls. The amount of taxable property in the State was returned in 1840 as about $ 92,000,000. Illinois has a debt of upwards of $ 13,000,000. The population of the State was less than 500,000 in 1840. To both these States, the remark of Governor Carlin, of Illinois, in one of his messages, is applicable: "Unfortunately, at an unguarded moment, the State was allured from the path of wisdom and economy by the seductive spirit of speculation, and the wild fury of popular delusion, which spread over every part of the Union, and induced to embark in an expensive system of internal improvements, at a period when the country was literally deluged with an inflated circulating medium, which gave the semblance of success to the most visionary and chimerical enterprises." But both these States have immense natural resources, and a rapidly increasing population fully capable of developing them; and they must become wealthy. At present, we believe, it is not in their power to comply with their engagements.

We have thus taken a rapid view of the condition of the public debt of those States which have not complied with their obligations. We find three distinct cases: States which are so deeply involved in debt, that it is out of their power at present to perform their engagements; States whose resources and means of payment are ample, and who have never questioned the binding force of their contracts; and States, able to pay, but refusing, upon the ground that they are not bound to pay. Each has its duties and its dangers. The duty of those first named is clear. Their excuse for not paying is their inability. This excuse, of course, relieves them from nothing which they *can* do.* It may be

* The rule and its limits are equally clear: "If the obstacle be real, time must be given, for no one is bound to an impossibility." *Vattel*, l. 4, § 51. — "Non ultra obligari quam in quantum facere potest; et, an possit, permittendum alterius principis, qua boni viri, arbitrio." *Bynk. Q. J. P.*, l. 2, c. 10.

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a sufficient reason for not at once paying *in full ;* it is no reason why they should not pay *something ;* and that something should be enough to include *all they can possibly effect.* To do less than this is to avail themselves, for their own benefit, of the misfortunes which have fallen alike upon themselves and their creditors ; it is, in fact, to commit a fraud. How much they can do, and in what ways it can best be done, the people of those States are themselves the most competent to decide. It is to be earnestly hoped, that, in making the decision, they will not forget that their own honor and the honor of the country is deeply involved in it. Their danger is, that they may postpone their measures too long. The great accumulation of interest is adding much every year to their burden. Every year they are becoming more and more accustomed to look upon the load as too heavy to be carried, and, therefore, to believe that no attempt ought to be made to lift any part of it. Such a feeling should be thrown off at once, and a manly vigor, such as the Western people are known to possess, should now be exerted.

The duty of those States which have the ability to pay, and have never questioned the obligation of their promises, is also clear. Unforeseen difficulties and disasters have prevented them from keeping the promises on which so many have relied. They have now had time to survey their difficulties ; to recover from the amazement which their great disasters caused ; to examine their resources, and select the proper means to draw from them the needed supplies. The state of the country has become greatly improved. During the last four years, the people, made wiser by adversity, have been industrious and economical. They have consumed little, and produced a great deal. They have been blessed with fruitful seasons. The bankrupt law has relieved those who were insolvent, and set them at work. Caution and honesty pervade the trade of the country. The general aspect of affairs is becoming prosperous, with a promise of security and permanency. This is the time to act on this great and urgent subject. Delay is not only dishonorable, but unwise. Every private man knows, that a state of insolvency is the most expensive of all conditions ; and this is quite as true of a commonwealth as of an individual. Its best arrangements, when in such a condition, can be only a succession of shifts to get round difficulties,

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which it would be much wiser, and on the whole easier, to clear away at once.

But without regard to the expediency of this course, it ought to be, and it will be, enough for the people of Pennsylvania and Maryland, that justice requires them to pursue it. They have not fallen into repudiation. They know the difference between honor and dishonor; and they know, also, that the honor of their government is their own. They will not fail to ask themselves the question, what difference there is between denying the obligation of a contract, and admitting its obligation, but neglecting to keep it; between an open repudiation of a debt, and fraudulently withholding the money. They will answer this question, as all right-minded men must answer it, by admitting, that, in both cases, the same injustice is done to the creditor; that, in both cases, the injustice is wilfully done by the debtor; and that it is of very little consequence by what name it is called, or under the shadow of what pretence refuge is taken.

There remains only one other case of which to speak, and no true-hearted American can speak of it without pain. We refer, of course, to those States whose legislatures have by public acts repudiated portions of their debts. Before noticing these acts at all in detail, we wish to say, what is not always remembered, either here or in foreign countries, that no legislature has repudiated a contract, without, at the same time, declaring it to have been made under such circumstances as not to be a valid obligation either in point of law or natural equity. It has been seen, how far we are from admitting that this plea amounts to a full defence. But we think it is of some importance to show, what is undoubtedly true, that no public body in this country has denied the obligation of the State to pay an admitted debt. Reasons affecting the equity of the claims, and grounds which would be tenable if they existed, have always been relied on as the cause of repudiation. We are not aware, that it has been maintained anywhere, that the people of a State can cancel an obligation by their mere will. How is it possible, that the American people should ever listen to a doctrine so absurd? How can they forget, that the binding force of a contract depends upon a law which neither kings nor people enacted or can repeal? It comes from the awful Being who created and fashioned us, who sustains our life and judges

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our actions. It was enacted by His will; it is enforced by His power; and the united will of the whole human race cannot influence it. That which is unjust will remain so, though all mankind should call it just, and try to believe it.

He who enacted this law will surely enforce it. *He doth govern the nations upon earth;* and they who disregard their solemn obligations, and break their plighted faith, and repay confidence with deceit, and a trusting dependence on their honor with open injustice, must come to know and feel bitterly, that the high qualities they have set at naught are essential to their own prosperity; that without them nothing is secure; that embarrassment and loss, undeveloped resources which produce only discontent, and energies unexercised which create nothing but restlessness, are the inevitable destiny of a people guilty of bad faith. We believe the American people know this; and because they know it, they who would lead them to do wrong have sought for fair pretences to make it seem right. The great mass of the people of the United States never have listened to these pretences, and, we firmly believe, never will listen to them. It is not strange, however, that some should have hearkened to them, and been led astray. But the time is fast approaching, and is now close at hand, when every State which has the ability to pay its debts, or any part of them, must begin to pay, or begin to be openly and knowingly fraudulent. Two ways are before them, the one leading to justice and honor, the other to repudiation and disgrace; one or the other must be deliberately chosen, and that soon.

It may assist us to discern the character of one of these paths, if we will attend for a moment to the true meaning of the word *repudiation*. In substance, it means *confiscation*. There is no just distinction between an act of the legislature requiring me to surrender a part of my property to the public use without compensation, and an act declaring that the State shall not, and will not, pay an equal amount which is due to me. No doubt, the former would alarm a greater number of persons than the latter; but this only renders it less dangerous, if such things admit of degrees of danger. Analyze the laws, and see if there be any difference between them, and where the difference lies. By the act first supposed, the State puts in motion its agents, and its civil

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or military force, and transfers to itself the possession and use of that which is mine. But in so doing, it does no wrong. This is an act of *eminent domain*, such as every government performs occasionally ; and it would cease to be strong enough for any useful purpose, if it did not possess this power. But as soon as my property has been thus taken, the State owes me compensation for what I have surrendered. If it makes this compensation, all is right ; and my property has been lawfully appropriated to the use of the State. If it refuses to make it, then my property has been *confiscated*, and the State has been guilty of a gross act of arbitrary power.

Such are the principles involved in the law first supposed ; and if we consider the other, we shall find the same principles applicable there. The State borrows my money, promising to pay it to me, or to any one to whom I shall assign the obligation. It now owes to me a recompense for what it has received. This duty grows out of the receipt of my money by the State, as, in the other case, it grew out of the receipt of my property. In the one case, the obligation to make compensation arises out of the mere justice of the claim, or, to use legal language, it is implied from the circumstances of the parties ; in the other case, the obligation arises from the express promise of the State. In both there is a perfect obligation, and the wrong done is the same ; namely, the violation of a perfect obligation to make compensation for money or property used by the State. It may be added, that the wilful refusal to repay a loan to the State, made on the faith of a positive promise, contains an element of wrong which does not ordinarily belong to mere seizures and confiscations ; for it is treacherous, as well as unjust.

There is another respect, in which the two cases approach still nearer to each other. The written obligation of the State, by which it has promised to pay to me, or to any one to whom I shall assign such obligation, a sum of money, is, both in form and in substance, property. It is so known to the law, and it is so in fact. It may be the subject of a larceny or a trespass, of a sale or a bequest ; it is a thing of value, of which I have the rightful possession. And it is wholly immaterial to me, and to the question of right, whether the State takes it out of my possession by force, or renders

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it valueless by refusing to pay it. The only difference between the two would be, that in the one case I should lose the paper and ink of the obligation ; in the other case, I should not ; — a distinction which will hardly be deemed important. It is clear, therefore, that repudiation and confiscation are in principle the same ; and if we can feel a preference for one over the other, we should say without hesitation, let us have confiscation ; let us have seizures made and contributions levied openly, and with as much fairness as acts of such arbitrary power admit, rather than obtain possession of money under the confidence reposed in solemn promises, and then add treachery to injustice by repudiating them. The violent course is the more manly one.

Certainly it would be desirable, that perfect justice to all men should be at once the only foundation and the object of human governments. This never has been, and perhaps never will be. But mankind have continued to live, and have enjoyed many, and perhaps most, of the blessings which grow out of the social state, under governments in whose constitutions it is easy to detect bad elements. But if there is one principle of policy which can be considered as settled, and as essential to all tolerable government, it is that which demands the absolute security of property. Men will submit to a great deal, so long as a just regard is shown for the rights of property ; when these are attacked, they will submit no longer, unless they are content to be slaves. This is a truth made familiar and practical to the people of this country by the war of the Revolution, which grew out of it, and by the written constitution of the Union, and of every State in the confederacy, which embodies and repeats it, and draws around it all the safeguards which human wisdom and foresight can supply. That private property shall not be applied to public uses without a just compensation ; that no man shall be deprived of his inheritance, except by the judgment of his peers and the standing laws of the land ; and that no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of any contract, are principles as familiar to us as our own names. The anxious care which our fathers took of the right of property has not been in vain. The principle was planted in a friendly soil, and has struck deep root. That branch of the great Anglo-Saxon family by

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which this continent is peopled has a strong and honest attachment to property and its rights. It is not a blind and sordid love of wealth, debasing the mind and hardening the heart. As a people, we are not avaricious. We spend freely, and we give with the largest generosity. It is because we know the uses of property, that we value and love it. We want it for ourselves, that we may have a freer and larger scope for wise enjoyment and improvement. We want it for our children, that they may be secured, as far as we can secure them, from the evils of ignorance and dependence. We want it for the charities which are waging perpetual war upon vice, and alleviating the miseries of the human condition; and for our churches, and colleges, and schools, which fit us to live in this world, and teach us humbly to hope for a better life hereafter. We want it for our country, in whose grand march of improvement we feel so much pleasure and pride. We have connected with it — and we think it a natural connexion — all our ideas of justice, of social order, of personal security, and of the peaceful pursuit of happiness.

How great, then, must be the violence done to the sense of right of such a people, before they can bring themselves to injure these clear and well understood rights of property! They must first be corrupted and degraded. In this country, all power emanates from them, and, at frequently recurring periods, returns to them to be delegated anew. And though it may sometimes happen, that they are not responsible for particular measures at the time they are taken, it cannot happen, that any unjust thing, of sufficient importance to attract their attention, should be done by their delegated government, and remain without a remedy, except by their will. This subject of repudiation is too large to escape notice, and too important to be passed over without a distinct and strong exertion of the popular will. If the doctrine it involves is ever carried into effect, it must be because a majority of the people have adopted it. Can that evil day come without first corrupting the people? What will then have become of that loyalty, which attaches us to our country with the bonds of strong affection; of that love of national glory, and that quick sense of national disgrace, without which no people ever were, or deserved to be, great; of that regard for justice, upon which alone rest our laws and all our social order and internal peace; of that attachment to property, out of which

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spring our habits of industry, our untiring energies, our progress in the arts, and comforts, and securities, and charities of life? What will have become of all these, when a majority of this people come to look upon a particular body of men, embracing citizens as well as foreigners, as their lawful prey, to be pursued across the barriers of the constitution, and over every safeguard which national honor and good faith can raise up, and to be seized and destroyed in the *sight of the civilized world?*

Let us not think, if we do this wrong, that we are no worse than others, for we are bound by more and stronger obligations than ever rested on any other people. The reverence of the Pilgrims for duty and conscience; the lofty love of justice of Penn and his associates; the pure equity, and constant regard for the rights of all, of Lord Baltimore and his colony; the high honor and chivalric spirit of Smith, and Oglethorpe, and the Southern colonists, — all call out to us, not to bring disgrace upon the children of such fathers. The providence of God, which has led us through a feeble infancy, and supported our steps in times of great trial, and raised up mighty men to supply our needs, and stand as examples in time to come; which has made us millions from a handful, and poured upon us a tide of prosperity such as never blessed any other people, — persuades us not to repay this kindness by breaking His law of justice. The hopes of mankind, that the great experiment of self-government may succeed, and its influences go forth all over the earth, till all men are raised to freedom and established in its secure enjoyment, beseech us not to violate that principle of justice, which is the corner-stone of every free government. They warn us, that we are extinguishing the light which had begun to enlighten the world; that we are putting into the mouths of kings and nobles the bitter words of contempt against all republics; that we are enabling them to say, not without an appearance of truth, that, because we have no hereditary nobility, we have no nobleness of soul; that, because we have abolished the rights of primogeniture, we can no longer inherit the manly virtues of our fathers; that in a republic nothing is fixed; that it is not too much for such a government to attempt by its will to displace God's eternal laws, for the sake of a base pecuniary advantage; and that, if a people so descended, so taught by experience,

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so educated by schools and churches, so prosperous and proud, will descend so low, how little can justly be expected of any other people who should attempt self-government! Such is the language to which the friends of free government abroad are forced to listen, and to the truth of which they begin to assent.

But it is not merely the regard which we owe to our fathers, our gratitude to God, and our duty to the principles of a free government, which urge upon us the rightful course. There is, besides, an enlightened and religious public opinion, which shines upon the world like the sun, and penetrates everywhere like the common air. No people can escape from its influence, or resist its power. It has already become the voice of the great family of civilized man. None can refuse to hear it. It comes from the heart of our common humanity, and so must reach the heart of all whom it addresses. As yet, it does not speak on many subjects; but who can doubt, that a deliberate and wilful violation of the plighted faith of great republics, by which distress and ruin are brought into numberless homes, is a subject on which it *will* speak? Who can doubt, that it will find in such cases those elements in which all mankind have a common interest? Have men ceased to entertain a profound regard for good faith? Has fidelity to engagements ceased to be a virtue of importance? Has common honesty become useless to mankind? "Justice is the great standing policy of all civilized states." All the world now knows it, and no nation can depart from this policy without dishonor and degradation.

Let us, then, look upon this matter as it really is, and as all men must at last view it; nay, as it stands now before that great tribunal where no popular pretexts can avail. There it is of no advantage to say, that many of these debts are held by rich and selfish foreign capitalists, who care for nothing so much as to wring money from the hard earnings of our people. A wise man told us, long ago, that he did not listen with much credulity to any who spoke evil of those whom they were going to plunder; and the world thinks little of the epithets we bestow on those who ask us only for justice. It demands of us, In what code of morals or laws do we find it written, that the circumstances or condition of a man furnish the least excuse for doing him a wilful wrong? It asks us, if this is the spirit of our republican doctrine, that

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all men are *equal* in the sight of the law. It asks how we can know the conditions and circumstances of our creditors; whether we have the means of investigating them; whether we have attempted to use those means; how many widows and orphans, whose sole hope of earthly comfort rested upon our honor, we find recorded on our list; how many aged men, past the season of active labor, have invested the savings of long lives in our good faith; *and what we have done to relieve them.* These are questions which the public opinion of Christendom already asks, and which must be answered; and, unless we speedily act upon this subject as justice and honesty require, the misery of our case will be, that we can make no answer, which will not involve us in deep disgrace. We may, it is true, attempt to plead, that, as to some of these debts, there are technical defences; and that, in respect to others, the agents who were charged with their negotiation committed gross frauds on the States. Be it so. But the States selected their own agents, and trusted them; and therefore every just principle requires, that the States should bear the consequences of these frauds. And as to the technical objections, if any such exist, no civilized government is worthy of its name, which would take advantage of them. A government straining after a technical objection to avoid payment of a just debt to a creditor who probably scarcely looked at the instrument when he parted with his money, except to see plainly expressed upon it, that "*the faith and credit of the State was pledged*" for its payment! Such a government, we repeat it, is not worthy of the name. It is a great pettifogger, and not a government. The more powerful it is, the greater is its disgrace. The more proud it is, the greater is its meanness. The more enlightened it is, the greater is its sin.

We have said, that, in substance, repudiation is confiscation. And what would future times say to a series of acts of confiscation, by which the great republics of the New World, in the middle of the nineteenth century, should appropriate millions of property to their own use? The inquiry would be made, Was it enemy's property, seized in time of war; or was it taken in the midst of a revolution, as a signal and severe punishment for great crimes against the state? If so, though opposed to the lenient and more humane spirit of the present age, and in itself of very doubtful

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propriety, the laws of nations do not positively forbid it, and the examples of nations in less favored times might afford some excuse for it. But what must be the reply? It must be, that these acts were done in a time of profound peace; that they fell alike upon citizens and upon strangers; upon the child, who was too young to be otherwise than innocent, and women and aged men, who were too feeble to be feared; that they were directed against no crime; that they were justified by no principle; that they were naked acts of arbitrary power, prompted by no motive except a base love of money. We cannot bring ourselves to fear, that the American people, or any considerable part of them, will ever stand fairly before the world in judgment for this great crime. We know, that their dangers and difficulties are not small; but we believe they will be met and overcome by the vigor and courage which have hitherto conquered all difficulties, and met all dangers undismayed. It is, however, the part of wisdom to look steadily at these dangers and difficulties, and it may aid us to do so, if we consider the effects already produced by repudiation.

The first and most obvious effect of even the small favor with which this doctrine has been received is, that it has seriously impaired the pecuniary credit and resources of the country. The conduct of a few States has not only destroyed their own credit, and left their sister States very little to boast of, but has so materially affected the credit of the whole Union, that it was found impossible to negotiate in Europe any part of the loan authorized by Congress in 1842. It was offered on terms most advantageous to the creditor; terms which, in former times, would have been eagerly accepted; and after going a begging through all the exchanges of Europe, the agent gave up the attempt to obtain the money in despair. It is impossible to believe, that any capitalist refused to lend his money because he doubted the ability of the United States to pay their debts. Nor is it credible, that the mere failure of a few of the State governments to meet their engagements would have produced this extraordinary effect. It is the truth, and it should sink into the heart of every American, that this loan was refused because Europe doubted the honor of this country. We say it should sink into the hearts of our countrymen; but it should stir no anger there. *We* know, that the honor of this Union

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is, and we firmly believe it ever will be, untarnished. *We* know the distinction between the States and the national government, and the hardship of most of the cases in which States have failed to perform their promises ; and we know, too, how little progress the odious and infamous doctrine of repudiation has made. But the word *repudiation* has been sounded in the ears of men in Europe, till they have begun to fear it is the settled doctrine of a majority of our people. Every failure to meet an engagement by a State is looked upon as a practical result of this theory. And it is, therefore, not at all wonderful, that the pecuniary credit of the country should first be brought into doubt, and then speedily destroyed. We have no right to be angry ; but we cannot help feeling a deep concern both for the cause and the effect.

For, aside from all considerations which affect our national honor, the pecuniary credit of a State is a matter of great public concern. All governments are liable to unforeseen and pressing wants, which can only be met and supplied through the public credit ; because these wants occur under such circumstances as render immediate and adequate supplies highly important, or absolutely necessary, and when taxation cannot furnish them speedily enough to meet the pressing occasion. Our form of government does not exempt us from such wants. The two great political parties, which have ruled this country since the adoption of the Constitution, agree, that any accumulation of money raised by taxation is not to be thought of, and that no more is to be drawn from the people than is absolutely necessary, for the time being, to enable the government to exercise economically its appropriate functions. But both parties have found, when in power, what, indeed, any party must always find, that there are always great obstacles in the way of a large and sudden increase of taxes. No people will submit to it willingly. It requires time to convince them of its necessity and policy ; some time is necessary to enable them to accommodate their affairs and resources to the new demand. But the emergency leaves no time. Invasion or insurrection will not wait till public opinion has become reconciled to an increase of taxation, and till the public agents have gone through the slow process of obtaining a supply from that source.

We have learned, also, from the experience of the last

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three years, that even in time of peace, and when there are no extraordinary demands upon the energies of the country, it may not be possible to carry on the government without the aid of loans. Within that short period, we have seen the national government become so embarrassed, that it could not have performed its most necessary functions, if relief had not been obtained by borrowing money. And we have had some opportunity to see what great pecuniary sacrifices must be made by the public, when money must be had while a shade rests on the credit of the borrower, and how important, in point of economy as well as honor, is an unstained reputation for fidelity to engagements. It concerns, therefore, the safety of every government, that the prompt and adequate resources of the public credit should not be trifled with and lost.

The views which we have thus far presented respect our domestic condition and policy; but the subject has a direct connexion with the foreign relations of the United States. It has always been admitted to be one of the duties, and, consequently, one of the rights, of the sovereign power in every nation, to see that gross injustice be not done to its subjects or citizens, in a foreign country. If the injustice be of such a nature as to admit of legal remedy, and the courts of the land where it is done are open for redress, the sovereign is bound to wait till that redress has been sought for and refused in the highest court known to the law of that country. It is presumed, that justice will be done according to the course of the law of the land; and this presumption can be removed only by an actual failure to obtain it in the highest court. No nation can answer for the equity of proceedings in all its inferior courts. It suffices to provide a supreme judicature, by which error and partiality may be corrected. This presumption holds even when redress has been refused, unless the decision is palpably wrong, — *in re minime dubiâ*. But where the decision against the foreign claimant is evidently unjust, or when the law studiously withholds its aid, so that he cannot obtain the fruits of a decision in his favor, or when the courts of the country are not open to his suit, the foreign sovereign is bound to listen to the complaints of his subject thus injured, and either make indemnification, or seek it from the people by whom the wrong has been done. It is apparent, therefore, that at no

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distant day, this matter may become the occasion of negotiation with those governments whose subjects are interested in these debts. In such an event, the preliminary question would be, whether any courts of this country are open to foreigners seeking to recover their money of the States. As a general rule, the courts of the States cannot entertain a suit against the States. There are only three exceptions known to us, and those are the State of Mississippi, which allows the holders of her bonds to bring suits against the State in her own Court of Chancery, and the States of Maryland and Virginia, which, in some instances, have allowed suits against themselves, but always, we believe, by special laws. How far the case of Mississippi would come within the rule of international law which binds the claimant to seek for redress in the courts of the land where the wrong was done, we are not prepared to say. So far as we know, it would be a new case. The chancellor of Mississippi is elected by the people every six years. He is, therefore, appointed by, and directly dependent on, one of the parties to the suit, and the case has been prejudged by the legislature. Now, if the rule should apply at all, and the parties should be held bound to seek for justice at the hands of a judge thus situated, it seems clear, that the decision would be much more open to doubt than in ordinary cases where the foreigner sues a citizen. If the presumption, that justice will be done according to the law of the land, should exist, it would certainly be weak and easily removed, and would be quite as likely to lead to disputes and contentions as to settle them.*

It is manifestly of great importance to us to have the full benefit of the presumption, which, for the sake of peace, the law of nations raises in such cases. *Without* this presumption, the claim for redress must be made on the government of the United States, and the cases judged of and decided by the parties to the negotiation; after which, if the foreign government is not satisfied with the result, it has

* The conduct of the courts of the States in reference to British debts was a fruitful source of controversy between England and this country in 1792, and it is notorious, that great amounts of those debts were not, and could not be, recovered, until after the establishment of the courts of the United States. See the correspondence between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Hammond, the minister of Great Britain. Wait's *Am. State Papers*, 1789 to 1796. *Ware* v. *Hylton*, 3 Dal. R. 199. Elliot's *Debates*, 142 - 144, 282.

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just cause for reprisals, and even for war. *With* it, the matter is first submitted to the highest legal tribunal, and the foreign government is bound to be satisfied with its decision, unless so palpably wrong, as to give rise to the belief that it was corruptly made. We have said, that the claim for redress must be made upon the United States; for we cannot entertain the least doubt, that the national government is as much responsible for injustice done to foreigners by the States, as by individuals or corporations. Foreign states can know only that sovereign which has the power to make war and peace, to negotiate and enter into treaties. They can no more have relations with a State, than with a county. If the wrong is done within the territory of the United States, the United States must answer for it.

But we believe our Constitution has not left us without the protection which is enjoyed by all other nations who have courts of justice open to foreigners seeking redress, and where they are bound to presume that justice will be done. The Constitution, as originally adopted, contained in Art. III. § 2, the following words; "The judicial power shall extend to controversies between a State, *or the citizens thereof*, and foreign States, *citizens, or subjects.*" The eleventh article of the amendments declares, that "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States *by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.*" Thus the original provision, as to suits against one of the United States by foreign states, was allowed to stand. Mr. Chief Justice Marshall, in his very able opinion in the case of *Chisholm* v. *The State of Georgia*, has stated the reason of this provision in such a manner as renders it quite applicable to our present purpose. He says, the Constitution contained this provision, "because, as every nation is responsible for the conduct of its citizens towards other nations, all questions touching the justice due to foreign nations or people ought to be ascertained by, and depend on, national authority." There can be no doubt, therefore, that, by the very terms of the Constitution, a foreign state or sovereign may sue one of the United States in some court of the United States. Nor has the Constitution left it doubtful, or even left it for Congress to provide, which court it shall be; for it contains

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the following words ; " In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, *and those in which a State shall be a party*, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction."

We conceive, also, that a foreign state or sovereign may easily be placed in such a condition as to prosecute these claims. It is incident to the sovereign power, that it should be able to make itself the owner of such claims. The rules as to the purchase and sale of rights of action, which affect individuals, are not applicable to the sovereign. The law presumes, that the government of a country will not be guilty of *champerty* or *maintenance*. Under the common law, the king might take an assignment of a debt, and sue therefor in his own name. And we have no doubt, that the same law exists in all countries. It seems to follow, then, that, if the sovereign should take an assignment of a claim, and sue therefor in the court of a foreign country, the comity and respect due to the foreign sovereign would necessarily prevent the court from inquiring into the causes and motives of the assignment ; especially in a country where the common law exists, which makes all debts negotiable between the sovereign and a subject or citizen. And if this motive were inquired into, it would appear, that the foreign sovereign had taken the assignment merely to discharge a duty to his subjects by affording to them a remedy for a supposed wrong.* Certainly it would not be a subject of complaint or regret on our part, that this course should be taken, and that the foreign sovereign should submit the question to the decision of our own highest tribunal, instead of resorting directly to negotiation. In the event of such a thing becoming necessary, we should look upon an application to the Supreme Court of the United States as not only practicable, but desirable ; and we should feel thankful for the existence of that principle in the public law, and that wise provision in our own Constitution, which enable us to ask foreigners to seek for justice in that

* It has sometimes been suggested, in answer to the view taken by us, that the Judiciary Act has so limited the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, that an indorsee or assignee of a chose in action cannot sue in those courts, unless the assignor or indorser could himself sue therein ; but that limitation has reference only to suits in the Circuit and District Courts. It does not touch the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, which is conferred by the Constitution, and is not within the control of Congress.

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high tribunal which was created to establish it ; a tribunal known to the world as elevated far above all State biases and prejudices ; whose members come together from the North and the South, from the East and the West, across distances wider than half of Europe, and listen to sovereign States, as they contest their claims to territory and jurisdiction ; a tribunal which sits in judgment on the acts of the legislature of the nation, and decrees them to be valid or void ; a tribunal which is our own ark of safety, and to which offended Europe may come confidently, and obtain such justice as war and reprisals never gave, and never can give.

We have now presented our views of this important subject. We fear, that intelligent men throughout the country have hitherto scarcely done their duty in regard to it. They have looked upon it as interesting only those States who are embarrassed by debts, and those which have taken false steps to escape from them. They have thought it a matter of national concern, only because it affects our character as a people. But they must no longer forget, that the rights of every honest man are violated by an unjust act of the government under which he lives. It has been thought to be one of the advantages of a free government, that the individual is not merged in the state ; that each citizen is regarded and cared for, not merely because important to the state, but for the sake of his own welfare and happiness. For him, as a man, laws are enacted ; for him rights exist ; for him remedies are provided. He stands, before all tribunals, capable of claiming whatever is just. He means not to identify himself with any class, or community, or corporation. As a citizen, he has all the rights which can be had ; and, among those rights, he has eminently that of requiring the government, of which he is a constituent part, to do nothing which shall stain his honor, or shock his sense of justice, or lessen his patriotism, or deprive him of his share of the glory of his country ; and if any public act does this, he has as much right to feel aggrieved, as if his personal liberty were infringed. It is true, he walks abroad unharmed in his person ; but a violent constraint has been put upon his love of justice. It is true, his house and land are untouched ; but his country's glory, for which he would at any time have sacrificed them, has been squandered and lost. He still has a country ; but that which made it lovely in his eyes has been defaced and destroyed.

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Let every honest man, then, take care to do what in him lies to protect himself from this great wrong, and never rest, until the faith of his country has been redeemed, and its honor secured from reproach.

ART. VI. — *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, Author of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1843. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 488, 480, and 524.

MR. PRESCOTT has given proof of moral courage, as well as literary industry, by the publication of a new and elaborate historical work, before the applause with which his history of Ferdinand and Isabella was received has "died into an echo." An author's former self is his own worst enemy, and the great success of a first literary enterprise is likely to paralyze rather than stimulate a highly sensitive nature, which fears censure more than it courts praise. A mind of this class shrinks from making a second effort, from a consciousness of the standard by which it will be tried, and of the comparison to which it will be subjected. He has more to lose and less to gain. The second book must be better than the first, in order to be considered as good; as the son of a great man must be a greater man than his father, to be esteemed equal to him. Mr. Prescott shows himself to be possessed of a mind of manly temper, in thus submitting to the judgment of the public a new work of essentially the same character as that which has given him so high a rank among the historians of the age. He has not been content to slumber upon his laurels, but has been toiling in those fields of research in which new ones are to be gathered, with as much ardor and industry as if his first crown were yet to be won. We are glad to see, that, in his case, the "noble rage" of the scholar is not chilled by the morbid fear of putting in peril the reputation which has been already gained, and that he does not let his armor rust ingloriously on the wall, because he has gained one victory.

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The brilliant success of the "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," and the high excellences of matter and style by which that success is vindicated, are sources of just pride to Mr. Prescott's countrymen. When that work was noticed in our Journal, it was spoken of as the production of a "scholar heretofore unheard-of in the world of letters;" and now, in the space of five years, it has become a world-renowned book. It rose, at once, with no doubtful pause or anxious suspense, but at a single bound, to the highest point of public favor, and there it has calmly rested and is likely to rest. Besides numerous editions in America and England, it has been republished in Paris, translated into German under the superintendence of the celebrated historian Von Raumer, also into Italian, and twice into Spanish. The two Spanish translations are now in the course of publication. It has taken the rank of a classic in our language, and in the emulous favor with which it has been received on each side of the Atlantic may be read an assurance of the unbiased judgment of posterity.

It was an element in the success of this elaborate and finished history, that it took the world by surprise. No previous efforts had heralded its way, and told the public what they might expect. We may apply, without exaggeration, to its author what Byron said of himself; that he awoke one morning and found himself famous. It has been Mr. Prescott's good fortune, that the patient temper of his mind has been in harmonious relation with the circumstances of his position. No restless impatience of spirit has disturbed the tranquil progress of his researches, and no stern necessity has compelled him to present their results in a crude and imperfect state. He fixed his eye upon a distant point; to this he took the instant way, and approached it steadily, though slowly, allowing nothing to divert him to the right hand or the left. He was willing to bide his time; and while others were winning name and praise by cheaper efforts, he wrought in tranquil silence, disturbed by no feverish appetite for ephemeral notoriety, till the hour came when the last touches had been given to his work, and he could dismiss it from his hands with the calm assurance, that, whatever might be its fate, he had at least labored conscientiously to make it worthy of success. His history was the finished result of long years of golden leisure, wisely em-

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ployed; of patient reflection and indefatigable study, devoted to one object. It was the natural growth of the author's mind, with the healthy sap of life circulating through it; and not one of those rickety manufactures which betray at a glance the haste with which they have been put together at the bidding of some contracting publisher, whose favor is bread and whose frown is want. In one moment, the ample harvest of all his industry and all his patience was secured, and the long accumulating arrears of fame were discharged by the rich shower of "golden opinions" which was poured into his lap.

The subject of the present work, the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, is deficient in moral grandeur and interest. We read the narrative with far different feelings from those with which we follow the changing events of a struggle like that of the revolt of the Netherlands, or our own Revolution, in which the noblest endowments of mind and the highest qualities of character are displayed in asserting and maintaining a great and vital principle. There is nothing here that kindles the cheek and suffuses the eye with a proud sense of the divine elements which were mingled with the dust from which man was formed. It is a tale of blood and horror. It is the melancholy record of an exterminating war, waged against an unoffending people, with robber-like rapacity and ruffian cruelty, in which the superior advantages of civilization, science, and discipline are found linked with the lowest and basest of passions, and all our sympathies are enlisted in behalf of the heathen and the savage. As a historical theme, it is in some respects obviously inferior to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, with which it is so naturally connected, as a progressive step in the increase of that vast colonial empire, the foundations of which were laid by the genius of Columbus. We no longer observe, from the historian's point of view, the stately march of European history and politics, the growth of modern government and civilization, and the successive events by which Providence has been for centuries educating the great human family. The stage is contracted, and the actors have less of port and majesty. The page does not sparkle with names which bring with them long trains of association, nor does the canvass glow with such life-like portraits of men illustri-

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ous in the arts of war and peace. Cortés, the prominent figure in the group, may be esteemed a fair equivalent for the "Great Captain"; for, though they are not comparable in the splendor of their achievements, and still less in the scale on which their military enterprises were conducted, yet in all the essential qualities of a leader of armies, in valor, in patience, in fertility of resources, in coolness in the hour of danger, in provident forecast, in consistent firmness of discipline, and in the power of animating his soldiers with his own indomitable spirit, the Conqueror of Mexico need not shrink from a parallel. But we miss the lovely image of Isabella, the wise sovereign, the devoted wife, the affectionate mother, the warm-hearted woman, adorning a throne with those qualities of mind and character which would have shone with cheering lustre in the humblest station, and made her children, had they been born to daily toil, "rise up and call her blessed." No character supplies the place of the wary and sagacious Ferdinand, always commanding our respect, if he seldom inspires a warmer sentiment; or of the romantic and imaginative Columbus, perhaps, of all men, who have been so great in action, the most remarkable for that fervid temperament of genius which is essential to the highest success in literature. Still less can we find any type of that extraordinary man, Cardinal Ximenes, who united in his own person powers so various and so opposite; a scholar, as if he had dreamed away his years in some studious cell, with his elbow upon his desk; a statesman, as if he had breathed all his life the air of the cabinet; a soldier, as if his only training had been that of arms; with no touch of weakness, and free from every vice except pride; with a frame of adamant and a brain whose fibres never relaxed or grew weary, a capacity that foresaw all things, comprehended all things, and accomplished all things, and a fiery energy of will, before which obstacles vanished like chaff before the wind, and opposition melted away like walls of mists in the sun.

Still, the subject has attractive elements peculiar to itself. As a poetical and picturesque theme, stimulating the fancy and filling the mind with vivid and distinct images, it can hardly be surpassed. It carries us into a new and strange world, inhabited by a peculiar people, where all the institutions and habits of life are novel, and where the productive energy of nature itself is manifested in forms of unaccus-

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tomed beauty and grandeur. The whole scene is illumined by the last dying gleams of chivalry. The wild courage and reckless spirit of adventure of the knight-errant were displayed, in their full force, by those swarthy soldiers who planted the standard of Spain upon the soil of Mexico. The enterprise was one of the last manifestations of the age of the hand, as distinguished from the age of the head ; of an age in which battles were decided by the personal prowess of a few champions, before war had become a succession of scientific combinations. The contest was between civilization and barbarism, between the steady and deliberate valor of disciplined troops and the impetuous daring of savage masses, — in which the result was as inevitable as in the shock between the vessel of iron and the vessel of clay ; and the conflict of these opposite forces affords constant opportunities for glowing narrative and picturesque description.

The wonderful character of the country itself, which was the prize in this contest, furnishes a brilliant accompaniment, in perfect keeping with the story. The scene is in unison with the actors and the events. The external features of Mexico, its extensive central plain, elevated so high, and with slopes on each side so steep and abrupt, its snow-covered volcanoes, the splendor and variety of its tropical vegetation, the strange animals which inhabited its soil, and the birds of novel and dazzling plumage which wantoned in its brilliant sunshine, its diversity of climate, the rare beauty of its flowers, and the luscious flavor of its fruits, — all are powerfully stimulating to the imagination, and in harmony with the romantic incidents which it is the historian's duty to record. The character of the native population, their inconsistent civilization, the contrast between the superstitions which degraded and enslaved their minds and their general intelligence and progress in science and art, between their habitual gentleness and the bloody ferocity of their religious observances, are also fruitful in the elements of the poetical and the picturesque, and enable the writer to throw the charm of fiction over his pages, while adhering scrupulously to the unvarnished truth.

A subject so attractive has not been hitherto untouched. It has occupied the pens of two writers in English. The narrative of the conquest of Mexico fills about two hundred pages of Robertson's extended work on the history

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of America. It is written in that carefully balanced and somewhat formal style which is characteristic of this historian, and is strongly marked by that tendency to generalization which is observable in all his writings. But the plan of a work so extensive admitted of no minuteness of detail, and the pages which he has devoted to this subject form rather an entertaining and well-written sketch than an elaborate history. Patient and exhausting research was not congenial to Dr. Robertson's habits of mind, and his historical works are more remarkable for sound judgment, skilful and luminous arrangement, studied beauty of style and distinctness of narrative, than for minute accuracy and profound knowledge. Succeeding inquirers in the same field of research often find themselves called upon to make energetic protests against the statements and opinions to which his flowing and full-dressed periods have given such wide circulation. Southey, with much injustice, applies to him his own remark upon Solís, that he knows no author in any language whose literary reputation so much surpasses his just claims; and Dr. Dunham, in his "History of Spain and Portugal," treats him with a caustic severity unbecoming when applied to a man so distinguished in literature and so eminently respectable in private life. Besides, whatever had been Dr. Robertson's plan, and however conscientiously he might have labored in his inquiries and researches, the imperfect materials at that time within his power would have made it impossible for him to treat the subject in a manner to satisfy the requisitions of the present age. As is well known, he complains that he was denied access to some of the most important public repositories in Spain, the treasures of all of which have been generously opened to Mr. Prescott. Upon the subject of the Mexican civilization, the knowledge of his time was extremely imperfect, compared with that which we possess. Humboldt had not poured upon the subject the light of his luminous and comprehensive genius. The works of Veytia, Sahagun, and Boturini slumbered in inaccessible manuscripts; those of Ixtlilxochitl have never been printed, and were unknown to Robertson; Gama had not written upon the Aztec chronology and astronomy; and the splendid pictorial works, which have recently been published, had not addressed their evidence to the eye, in such characters that he who runs may read. The cautious and skeptical

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spirit in which he wrote, and which was warranted by the few facts which were within his knowledge, would now be esteemed as indicating an incredulity amounting (as Mrs. Thrale said Dr. Johnson's did) to disease.

Another work on this subject, forming one small volume, was written for "Constable's Miscellany," by Don Telesforo de Trueba y Cosio. He was a Spaniard, who lived many years in London, wrote some respectable novels on Spanish subjects, and died about ten years since in Paris. His work is written in English remarkably good for a foreigner, but the style has no grace or attraction; and, as a literary effort, it is a mere bookseller's job, the facts being borrowed from the most obvious sources, especially from Robertson.

The Spaniards have one good history of the Conquest, — in some respects, their best history. It is written by Don Antonio de Solis, and holds the rank of a classic in the language. He was a cultivated scholar, and endowed with a poetical genius of no mean order; and the attractive qualities of his style, and a charm of manner not common among the historians of his country, have given his work a place in Spanish literature somewhat higher than its substantial merits justify. He shows the skill of a practised writer in the distribution of his subject and the arrangement of his materials, and the narrative is colored throughout with the warm hues of a poetical fancy. The rules of proportion and perspective are carefully observed, the subordinate parts are never allowed to assume an undue prominence, and the connexion between the several portions of the story is skilfully maintained. The style is finished and elaborate, betraying a close study and evident imitation of the Latin historians, and, though criticized by some foreigners, has received the uniform commendation of his own countrymen, who are alone qualified to pronounce an opinion. But in those essential qualities which make a history valuable to the student and the inquirer, its merits are not so high. He was neither a profound thinker nor a laborious student, and spent much more time upon the form than the substance of his work. He does not weigh with critical sagacity the value of authorities, and seems rather in search of what is rhetorically effective than of what is true. His custom of introducing set speeches into the mouths of his personages, though sanctioned

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by the practice of antiquity and by some respectable names among modern historians, is offensive to the taste of the present age, produces something like stage effect, and casts "ominous conjectures" upon the accuracy of his narrative. His pages, too, are darkened by the most extravagant fanaticism, and he is equally disloyal to truth in the encomiums which he lavishes upon the Christian conquerors, and in the dark colors in which he has painted their heathen victims. The portrait of Cortés he has drawn without shadow; studiously exalting his merits and concealing his errors, the result is an ideal hero, such as his countrymen could have wished him to be, not such as he was. His history, in spite of its defects, has had great success. It has been printed and reprinted in the original, both in Spain and out of it, with various degrees of typographical elegance, and translated into the principal languages of Europe. The literary character of Solis is discussed by Mr. Prescott in a long and elaborate note, admirable for its just discrimination and beauty of style, to which we are indebted for the substance of the foregoing remarks.

In the studies and researches into which Mr. Prescott was led, while writing his "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," his attention was naturally directed to the kindred and collateral subject of the conquest of Mexico; and a little observation and inquiry satisfied him, that there were in existence, in print and in manuscript, the materials for a much more thorough and accurate history of this event than had hitherto appeared in any language. Having formed the plan of writing the work, he found that the facilities which would be extended to him, in the collection of manuscript authorities and original documentary evidence, were such as to exceed his most sanguine expectations. The result of his own exertions, and those of his friends and correspondents, (few men seem to be more rich in friends), was an accumulation of manuscript materials, far exceeding in amount and value those which had been within the reach of any previous historian.

These materials have been chiefly derived from three collections. The first was made by Don Juan Baptista Muñoz, the well known historiographer of Castile. This is a distinct office, with a salary attached to it. He employed upwards of thirty years in making a collection of documents

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illustrating the whole colonial history of Spain in this quarter of the globe. In this task, he labored with indefatigable industry, with a zeal that no obstacles could chill, and a patient assiduity that shrunk from no amount of toil, however exhausting. It was an employment congenial to his taste, and he pursued it with that intense devotion which belongs only to a labor of love. By royal command, every repository was thrown open to him ; the archives of cities and towns, in the Old and the New World, were ransacked by him ; he explored the dark recesses of convent libraries, and disturbed the dust of generations which had settled upon their shelves ; the great national collections of Seville and Simancas opened to him their treasures. Manuscripts mouldy with age were rescued from the devouring jaws of time and brought forth into the light of day, to give their testimony to the past. So patient of labor was he, that he transcribed with his own hand the manuscript of Sahagun's history, forming two bulky volumes in folio, and made a similar transcript of the printed account of Grijalva's expedition by his chaplain, because the book had become so exceedingly rare, that he feared the entire destruction of every existing copy by some of those many casualties that books are heirs to. The result of his labors and researches was an enormous mass of documents, consisting of letters, ordinances, chronicles, journals, and official reports. Of this collection he did not live to reap the benefit himself. Death arrested his labors when he had completed one volume of his great work, which contains an account of a portion of the discoveries of Columbus.

A second collection was made by Don Vargas Ponçe, president of the Academy of History. His manuscripts were chiefly drawn from the archives at Seville, a rich and extensive repository of official documents. He died, too, before he had had time to avail himself of the fruits of his own researches ; and both his manuscripts and those of Muñoz are preserved in the archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, which is intrusted by government with a particular supervision of the colonial history.

A third collection was made by Navarrete, the present president of the Academy, well known as the author of an excellent life of Cervantes, and who is still living in Madrid, in a green old age, universally respected and beloved for his

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learning, his talents, his estimable character, and amiable manners. He went over the same ground, gleaning what his predecessors had left, and making many important additions for his own private collection. About twenty years ago, he commenced the publication of the various documents in his possession and that of the Academy. The work is called "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos de los Españoles." The first two volumes are devoted to the life and voyages of Columbus, and in consequence of their publication, Mr. Irving went from London to Madrid to avail himself of these new materials to write the life of the Great Admiral. A third volume, afterwards printed, gives the voyages of the inferior discoverers, as Vespucci, Balboa, and others, who followed in the track of Columbus, and supplied Mr. Irving with the materials for his "Companions of Columbus." Instead of going on, as he had originally proposed, with the publication of the documents illustrating the conquests of Peru and Mexico, Navarrete, in the succeeding volumes, turned aside to the discovery of the Moluccas and the voyages in the East. The troubled state of affairs in Spain prevented the continuation of this excellent undertaking, and the publication was accordingly suspended.

The application which Mr. Prescott made to the Academy for permission to copy that part of their inestimable collection, which related to Mexico and Peru, was received by them in a manner which showed their consciousness, that the admirable work which he had already written, upon one of the most brilliant periods in the annals of Spain, had created a debt of gratitude on the part of the scholars of that country, which they felt a lively desire to repay. After choosing him a member of their body, they appointed one of their own number, a distinguished German scholar resident in Madrid, to superintend the copying of all the materials in their possession. In a similar spirit of generous courtesy, Navarrete, their president, allowed him the free use of his own private collection, the fruits of a long life of accumulation.

From all these various sources, a mass of unpublished documents was obtained, relating to the conquest and settlement of Mexico and Peru, comprising altogether about eight thousand folio pages, varying, of course, in authority and interest, but none without some value, and many of the

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highest importance. It is a curious subject of reflection, that two Spanish scholars, armed with all the authority of government, had thus been employed for half a century in gathering materials for the use of a writer, living in a distant portion of the globe, to whom they were not bound by ties either of religion, language, or blood. A shade of melancholy, too, passes over the mind in remembering, that they were not permitted to reap the fruits of their own labors, and to shape their ample materials into a fair edifice of literary fame. It was for others to gather where they had sown. The law of Providence, which Virgil has embodied in his well-known lines, which dooms the bee, the bird, and the ox to toil for others, and not for themselves, is perpetually applied in the history of literary enterprises. The materials are slowly gathered, the plan is sketched, years of patient inquiry and reflection are devoted to preliminary preparation, and when the projected work is beginning to assume distinct proportions in the scholar's mind, when the creative spirit of genius is proceeding to arrange the confused mass into order and beauty, when the heart beats high with anticipated success, and the laurel seems already within the grasp,

> "Comes the blind Fury, with the abhorred shears,
> And slits the thin-spun life."

All, too, who take pleasure in seeing the decline of exclusiveness and intolerance, and the removal of those walls of division which separate nations from each other, will be gratified with the courteous and liberal spirit manifested by the Spanish Academy, which shows, that, even in that part of Europe which is the least progressive in its movement, a decided advance has been made in generous feeling and elevated sentiment since the days of Robertson.

Mr. Prescott did not rest here in his accumulation of unpublished materials. From the Duke of Monteleone, a Sicilian nobleman, the descendant and representative of Cortés, who courteously opened to him the archives of his family, were obtained some interesting manuscripts of a personal nature, illustrating the biography of that renowned adventurer. After these details, it will be hardly necessary to add, that he provided himself with every printed work which had reference to the subject, including the splendid publications of Dupaix and Lord Kingsborough, which, from their

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colossal dimensions and costly character, are not often found in private libraries.

As the events, which Mr. Prescott was called upon to record, took place in a country and among a people whose usages and institutions were unlike those of any other, his first step was to transport the reader to the period of the Conquest, and to paint the scene of the enterprise as it appeared to the Spaniards upon their landing and during their progress. This he has done with singular judgment, taste, and sagacity in his Introduction, of about two hundred pages, devoted to a consideration of the Mexican, or, more properly speaking, Aztec civilization. This portion of the work, embodying, as it does, the results of careful reflection and exhausting research, will require to be read with more concentrated attention than the narrative of the Conquest; but it will richly repay all the time which may be devoted to it. It contains a summary and abstract of many elaborate works neither accessible nor attractive to the general reader, written in a style of transparent beauty and simplicity, and pervaded by a sound judgment equally removed from the extremes of credulity and skepticism. We read in it, with melancholy interest, the tale of the flourishing fortunes and palmy prosperity of a race, now humbled to the dust by long years of subjection, and with every spark of manly feeling trampled out by the iron heel of their oppressors.

When the Spaniards landed upon the shores of Mexico, they found themselves in a new world. The singular physical features of the country prepared them for strange revelations, and at every step their anticipations were confirmed. The forms of animal life, which they observed, everywhere suggested resemblances to those of the European world, but nowhere presented an exact parallel. In the productions of the vegetable kingdom, the discrepancy was still more marked. The exhaustless wealth of a tropical soil lavished itself in the grandest and most fantastic shapes; in trees of giant size and luxuriant foliage; in a tangled undergrowth of shrubbery; in a variety of climbing plants, that threw their green arches over the open spaces of the forest, or hung in pendulous grace from the highest branches; and in flowers of vivid hues, whose intoxicating perfume was flung upon the air for many a league. It was a vision of fairy land made real. The old world which they had left seemed tame, languid, and

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cold, compared with that upon whose teeming soil they saw the evidence of such undecayed and exuberant energies. The air was clearer; the sun was brighter, the stars seemed nearer to the earth; every thing was steeped in a more passionate beauty, and wore the glory and freshness of early youth.

The lord of this favored region was marked by peculiarities of appearance and organization which made him, as compared with the "*homo sapiens Europæus*," another, yet the same. In his form and limbs, there was more of feminine delicacy and roundness than of masculine vigor; he was more suited to exercises of agility than of strength; active rather than muscular. The hair was black, coarse, glossy, and straight; the beard thin and usually plucked out; the complexion of a reddish brown or copper color; the cheek-bones high, and the eyes obliquely directed towards the temples; the expression of the countenance soft, with a tinge of melancholy. In vital energy, power of endurance, and strength of muscle, he was inferior to the European, and a proportionately less quantity of food sufficed for his sustenance.

In social life, manners and customs, civil polity, and religious belief, there were also striking peculiarities. The Aztec race had reached a point in civilization very far beyond that attained by the wandering tribes of the North. Their political organization presented all the elements of a well-defined state. The government was an elective monarchy, and the sovereign was selected from the brothers of the deceased monarch, and, in default of these, from his nephews. The king exercised both legislative and executive functions, and was aided in his duties by a sort of privy council of nobles. There was a numerous body of nobility, bound to the crown by ties of dependence, which had some elements in common with the feudal system. In the organization of the judicial department, the results of wisdom and experience were conspicuous. The judges of the higher courts were appointed by the crown; those of the inferior tribunals were chosen by the people. The superior judges were independent of the crown, and held their offices for life. In criminal cases, an appeal lay from the inferior to the higher tribunal; but not in civil. A wise solicitude was felt for the rights both of property and of person, and the purity of the judicial office was guarded by severe penalties. Laws were registered and promulgated by means of hieroglyphical

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paintings. Their penal code was sanguinary, like that of most semi-civilized nations ; all the great crimes against society being made capital. Marriage was celebrated with as much formality as in Christian countries. A separate tribunal was instituted for the sole purpose of determining questions relating to it, and a divorce could not be obtained, until authorized by a sentence of this court. The splendor of the crown was maintained, and the expenses of the state defrayed, by a regular system of taxes and revenues. These and many other details, which our limits will not permit us to give, show a civil polity which must have been the growth of the accumulated wisdom of many generations, and those elements of order, dependence, and stability, which distinguish a nation from a tribe.

In the arts which minister to the comforts and convenience of social life, they had also made great progress. They tilled the earth with judgment and skill. Their knowledge of architecture was attested by imposing edifices of stone and brick, ornamented with sculptured decorations and bas-reliefs. They displayed ingenuity and taste in various kinds of manufactures. They made utensils of earthen ware for the ordinary purposes of domestic life, and cups and vases of lackered or painted wood, impervious to wet and richly colored. Their dyes were obtained from both vegetable and mineral substances. They wrought in gold, silver, and precious stones with so much skill and delicacy of workmanship, that the Spanish goldsmiths admitted their own inferiority. But the art in which they particularly excelled was feather-work, with which they produced the effect of the most beautiful mosaic or tapestry. The dazzling plumage of tropical birds was wrought into dresses for their nobility, hangings for apartments, and ornaments for the temples. The specimens of this species of manufacture which were sent to Europe awakened the highest admiration.

In social life and domestic manners, there was no inconsiderable degree of polish and refinement. Their fine climate and fertile soil created a taste for pleasurable sensations, and provided them with the means of gratifying it. In one important respect they will sustain a favorable comparison with nations advanced beyond them in general social progress, and that is in the consideration paid to women, and in the delicacy and tenderness with which they were treated.

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The Aztec woman was exempted from the severe toil imposed upon the female sex among all the other Indian races in North America, and only such light labors were exacted of her as were suited to her strength. She shared the confidence of her husband, and was not excluded from his hours of social relaxation. She was his companion, and not his slave. The obligations of the marriage vow were mutually recognized. Their daily life had not the sullen monotony of the more northern races, but was sweetened by those unbought attentions and spontaneous courtesies, which throw their charm over the social intercourse of a civilized community. The sympathizing heart of the Aztec felt it to be a privilege to express by visits of congratulation, and by presents, his pleasure in the happiness of his friends, as on occasion of a marriage, or the birth of a child. Their social entertainments were tasteful and elegant. They had a taste for the pleasures of the table, and in the science of cookery were no mean proficients. Their meats were dressed with various sauces, were accompanied with a profusion of vegetables and fruits, and the more delicate luxuries of pastry and confectionary. After a sumptuous dinner, the Aztec *gourmand* refreshed himself with a cup of chocolate flavored with vanilla, and aided the process of digestion by smoking a pipe or a cigar. The table of Montezuma was spread with imperial magnificence, though he had the bad taste to take his meals alone. Fish, which cannot now be obtained at any price in the city of Mexico, were frequently served up at his board, which, the day before, had been swimming in the Gulf of Mexico, two hundred miles distant. The Aztecs were remarkable for a passionate love of flowers; a taste which they have transmitted to their degenerate and degraded descendants, and which is so generally the accompaniment of a kindly and gentle nature. They decorated their persons with them; their hues and odors heightened the charm of their entertainments, and were blended with their religious observances.

In scientific culture, they had made remarkable progress. By their peculiar and ingenious system of picture-writing, they were furnished with a tolerable substitute for alphabetical signs, and enabled to transport intelligence to distant points, to publish laws and edicts, and to record and hand down to posterity the memorable public and private events

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of their annals. They had devised a serviceable and sufficiently simple system of notation in their arithmetic. In the measurement of time, they displayed an astonishing precision, and their astronomical attainments were so extraordinary, so disproportioned to their progress in other intellectual departments, that nothing but an overwhelming amount of evidence would win our belief to the statements which we read. That the Mexicans had solved with more precision than any European nation the nice problem of adjusting the civil by the solar year, and had entirely escaped the error which was rectified by the Gregorian reform in the calendar, is a fact of startling interest, which suggests inquiries and reflections that seek in vain for solution and repose.

The religious faith of every people is a subject of interest to an inquiring mind; and the more isolated a nation has been, and the less influenced by the opinions and practice of others, the more interesting are the efforts they make to explain the mysteries which surround them, and to answer those perplexing questions which arise in the breast of the natural man with the dawn of intelligence. The religion of the Aztecs was so closely blended with their civil polity, that the latter can hardly be comprehended without a knowledge of the former. The church was with them a distinct institution, wielding great power, and possessing great influence. The sacerdotal order was very numerous; as may be inferred from one fact, that five thousand priests were attached, in some way or other, to the principal temple in the capital. The priests were allowed to marry; they did not live apart in monastic seclusion, but shared in the duties and responsibilities of life. The education of the young was, in particular, intrusted to them. The girls were given to the care of priestesses, for women were allowed to exercise all sacerdotal functions except those of sacrifice. To each of the principal temples, lands were annexed for the maintenance of the priests, which, augmented by the policy or devotion of successive princes, had become extensive and valuable at the time of the Conquest. The religious order was also enriched with the first-fruits, and with the voluntary offerings, always considerable, of sincere piety and timid superstition. It was their duty to distribute in alms to the poor all that was not required for their own support. As Mr. Prescott justly remarks, there is a striking resemblance,

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not merely in a few empty forms, but in the whole way of life, between the Mexican and Egyptian priesthood.

The religious system of the Aztecs was marked by singular incongruities, and naturally suggests the idea of two distinct sources, and that they had engrafted their own belief upon the purer faith of some elder race of higher culture. They recognized the existence of a Supreme Creator and Lord of the universe, of whose character and attributes they had no unworthy conceptions; but a crowd of inferior deities presided over the elements, the changes of the seasons, and the various occupations of man. Their faith comprehended a future state of rewards and punishments, more refined in its character than that of the ancient Greeks or modern Mahometans. In their religious observances, as well as in their doctrines of belief, we recognize some singular coincidences with both Judaism and Christianity. The naming of children was accompanied with a ceremony closely resembling that of baptism. The head and lips of the infant were touched with water, and a prayer was offered, "that the sin which was given to us before the beginning of the world, might not visit the child, but that, cleansed by these waters, it might live and be born anew." The Catholic ecclesiastics saw with astonishment the rites of confession and absolution administered by their priests. Their traditionary accounts of the Deluge resembled, not only in the general outline, but in the particular details, the narrative of the same event as recorded by Moses; and in the goddess Cioacoatl, "the serpent woman," "who bequeathed the sufferings of child-birth to women as the tribute of death," "by whom sin came into the world," may be traced an affinity, more than fanciful, with the Eve of the Hebrew Scriptures. The cross, too, was an object of worship in the Mexican temples, and one of their religious rites strikingly resembled the Christian Communion. Some of their religious precepts breathe the lofty morality of the New Testament. What mind is not startled at the remarkable coincidence contained in the declaration which is found among them, that "he who looks too curiously upon a woman commits adultery with his eyes"? The effect of these resemblances upon the heated minds of the Catholic ecclesiastics, the fanciful conjectures to which they gave birth, and the extent to which the parallel between their own faith and observances and

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those of the Aztecs was pushed by them, will not excite our surprise. Such striking coincidences, too, will inspire us with some charity for Lord Kingsborough, an English nobleman, who, in our own times, has lavished a world of curious learning, and reasoning powers of no mean order, in support of the proposition, that Mexico was colonized by the Israelites; and who records, as his deliberate conviction, "that the Aztecs had a clear knowledge of the Old Testament, and most probably of the New, though somewhat corrupted by time and hieroglyphics"!

The sketch here given of the religious creed and observances of the Aztecs presents the fair side of the picture. The dark side cannot be contemplated without a shudder of horror. Among this people, to whom belonged so considerable a share of knowledge, civilization, and refinement, whose religion embraced so much that was pure and elevating, the practice of human sacrifices prevailed to an extent, compared with which, history has nowhere else recorded any thing that approaches to a parallel. The altars of their deities dripped with human blood. The fiercest superstitions of the Old World, — the dismal rites performed around the "furnace blue" of Moloch,

> "horrid king, besmeared with blood
> Of human sacrifice and parents' tears," —

are but faint types of the hideous abominations which were enacted in honor of the Mexican divinities. The bloody knife of the priest was never idle, and the steam of carnage was always fresh in the nostrils of their sullen gods. The number of human victims annually sacrificed to this merciless superstition throughout the empire is variously estimated at from twenty to fifty thousand. The necessity of providing victims for these sacrifices became a prominent motive for commencing or continuing wars. Hence, an enemy was never slain in battle, if there were a chance of taking him alive; a circumstance to which the Spaniards repeatedly owed their preservation. Nor is the worst yet told. That practice, from which the first instincts of our nature so strongly recoil, which we associate only with humanity in its lowest and most degraded forms, and which supposes the principle of humanity almost blotted out in him who indulges in it, — the practice of cannibalism, — prevailed among them,

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not as the gratification of a brutish appetite, but sanctioned by religion, and mingling itself with the graces and amenities of social life. They feasted upon human flesh, not at coarse repasts like those of naked savages, snatching from the embers the quivering limbs of enemies slain in battle, but at elaborate banquets, where the appetite was stimulated and the senses gratified by all the means and appliances of civilization; by delicate meats, by delicious fruits, by dishes of gold and silver, by garlands of flowers, by soft music and graceful dances. These hideous and loathsome usages, prevalent among a people with so many claims to the character of a civilized community, present one of the most singular anomalies that history has recorded, for which we seek in vain for any sufficient explanation, and which must ever remain as one of those perplexing facts that baffle the learned and confound the wise.

The Aztec civilization is seen in its highest form and most complete development among the Tezcucans, one of the kindred and allied races which were in possession of the valley of Mexico at the time of the Conquest. Every reader, who feels an interest in the fate and fortunes of humanity, will be grateful to Mr. Prescott for the sketch which he has given, in the sixth chapter of his Introduction, of the golden age of this people; of their wealth, their power, their scientific and literary culture, and their social refinement; of the romantic fortunes and spendid career of their greatest monarch, Nezahualcoyotl, whose varied adventures are fruitful in themes for poetry, could any metre be devised sufficiently comprehensive and elastic to embrace his "dissonant consonant name," and were life long enough to admit of its frequent repetition. In his early perils and misfortunes, his subsequent renown and prosperity, his poetical genius, and the great crime which stains his memory, he presents a striking parallel to the monarch minstrel of the Jews. It is curious to observe, in the specimens of his poetry that have come down to us, the same law of the human mind which led a kindred spirit, in another age and country, to exclaim, "Vanity of vanities! all is vanity!" that law, by virtue of which, the aspirations and desires of a finely organized nature keep ever in advance of the gifts and flatteries of Fortune; which, in the palmy state of glory and success, where there is no more room for hope or fear,

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suggests most vividly the thought of the instability of all human good, the frail tenure upon which earthly possessions are held, the emptiness of fame, the worthlessness of wealth, the shadowy and unsatisfying character of all that prosperity pours into the lap. The strains of the royal minstrel of Tezcuco are set upon the minor key. The luxuriance of a tropical imagination is tempered with a vein of gentle melancholy, and with a dash of that Epicurean philosophy which seeks in the joys of the present a relief from those gloomy forebodings which throw their dark shadows over the future. In the delicious solitudes of his rural palace, lulled by the sound of falling waters and fanned by gales of balm, he gave utterance to the vague sense of languid discontent in solemn and pathetic hymns, marked both by dignity of sentiment and beauty of illustration. In reading Mr. Prescott's very interesting account of this remarkable monarch, of his wisdom, his valor, his powers of action and of thought, his kindliness of nature, and his many virtues, we cannot but be struck with the caprice of fortune, which has allowed the rust of oblivion to gather upon his name and memory, while those of inferior mark shine with such undimmed lustre, through the gloom of the past. To most persons, the very existence of this wise, powerful, and gifted monarch will probably be a new revelation. So much more does fame depend upon the reporter than upon the deed! To the accident of a Homer we owe it, that the name of Agamemnon is so familiar a sound, and Miltiades is mainly indebted to Herodotus, that the lapse of so many centuries has not withered one leaf of his laurels. But the shade of the Tezcucan monarch may now repose in peace. The hour and the man have at last come, that are to disperse the dark oblivious clouds that have so long hidden his name from the general eye. His virtues and genius are now embalmed in the beautiful periods of a book which the world will not let die. He may find a compensation for having waited so long, in the full blaze of reflected light now thrown upon his memory by the fame and talents of his historian.

Mr. Prescott has appended to his work a dissertation on the interesting and perplexing question of the origin of Mexican civilization. It is written in a cautious spirit, and the conclusion he arrives at is something like that of Dr. Johnson's Rasselas, "in which nothing is concluded." This

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we say not by way of censure, but of commendation. This is preëminently one of those subjects upon which half knowledge is bold, and assured knowledge is diffident. Mr. Prescott did not start with a theory, and in his progress accept whatever confirmed it, and reject every thing inconsistent with it. His object was to state the case fairly ; to present in a popular form the result of all that had been written upon the subject ; to discriminate between the fanciful and the sober ; and to advance no conclusion to which he had not arrived by a legitimate process of inquiry and reflection. The reader who follows him through his preliminary observations, when he comes to the final summing up, will admit, that this is all which can be stated as matter of certainty, and that a single step further carries us from the firm earth of reality into the cloudland of conjecture. It is one of those mysterious questions, which, from the insuperable difficulties they present, administer a tacit rebuke to the pride of human intellect, by the bounds which they set to its progress, presenting depths which it cannot fathom and heights which it cannot scale. Whence came those races which passed in successive waves over the elevated plains of Mexico, and dwelt in the sunny regions of Central America ? What was the origin of that peculiar civilization, of which such authentic accounts are preserved to us, and which has left its visible memorials in the stupendous structures of Palenque and Uxmal ? Was it of exotic or indigenous growth ? If the former, how are we to account for the singular discrepancies between it and every form of European or Asiatic civilization with which we are acquainted ? If the latter, how are we to explain the striking resemblances, and how came the frightful elements of human sacrifice and cannibalism to be mingled with so much of intellectual culture and social refinement ? How many centuries are looking down upon us from those nodding ruins which the enterprise of one of our own countrymen has recently made familiar to us ? Were they the work of the same people who were in possession of the country when it was discovered by Europeans, or of another and higher race which had passed away and been lost in the night of ages ? All these questions press in vain for a satisfactory answer upon the mind lost in wandering mazes which find no end. The comprehensive glance of the philosophic historian, the

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minute diligence of the pains-taking antiquary, the practical sagacity of the observing traveller are alike perplexed and baffled.

The Introduction and the Appendix, though separated by the entire narrative of the Conquest, form parts of the same subject. We commend the judgment which induced Mr. Prescott to throw his observations upon a point rather speculative than historical into an appendix, though his readers could certainly have had no reason to complain, had he incorporated them into the Introduction, with which they are naturally connected. The Introduction and the Appendix, taken together, comprise rather more than half a volume; and the value of Mr. Prescott's statements and opinions will be enhanced, and the conscientious spirit in which his investigations have been conducted will be appreciated, by a knowledge of the fact, that to the preparation of this half volume he has devoted the assiduous labor of two years and a half, with facilities and advantages such as no other person now living has at command. He is a bold man who, after this, will undertake to deny his facts or controvert his conclusions; and even to pronounce upon their correctness involves some spice of assurance.

We cannot take leave of this portion of the work, without again expressing our admiration of the great ability with which it has been executed. It cannot fail to add materially to Mr. Prescott's already distinguished literary reputation, especially as part of it requires those qualities of mind which belong rather to the philosopher than the historian, and which he was not called upon to put forth in his former work so distinctly, though in our age every historian must be more or less of a philosopher. For the investigation of questions of this kind, partly historical and partly speculative, he is very well fitted by his habits of patient industry, his sound judgment, his power of keeping his mind in a state of well-balanced suspense till all the means for coming to a result have been obtained, and that judicial skill in the weighing of testimony to which he has a hereditary claim. He has enough of the poetical temperament to feel the stimulating influence of those romantic elements in which his theme is so fruitful, and to give an appropriate richness and beauty to his style; yet his imagination never carries him to extravagant theories or wild conjectures, but is always under the wise

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control of a dispassionate judgment. The most superficial reader perceives, that he has made himself a perfect master of the subject, and that he writes down upon it from a superior position. His knowledge, patiently acquired and long reflected upon, has become assimilated and blended with the substance of his mind, and is not the crude and half-digested result of a hurried process of cramming. We hail, with pride and pleasure, the accession to the stores of our young and glowing literature of contributions like this ; the work of a manly understanding, applying itself in sincerity and good faith to the investigation of subjects interesting to humanity, and proclaiming its results in a style marked by dignity, simplicity, and grace. These are among the best possessions of a nation ; the most enduring monuments of its glory ; better than the bloody prizes of war or the peaceful gains of skilful diplomacy, — inferior only to that lofty distinction which waits upon moral worth, upon unfaltering adherence to truth, justice, and good faith.

We can have no question, that this portion of the work will prove highly attractive and interesting, even to general readers. The subject is one about which much vague curiosity is felt, but very little is accurately known. Heretofore, there has been no one work, to which reference could be had, containing the results of exhausting research, conveyed in a popular form. The inquirer must have turned over many leaves and consulted many uninviting books, before he could gratify his curiosity. For general use and for the purposes of most scholars, Mr. Prescott's labors have quite superseded those of all other writers ; and the day is far distant, when his will be set aside by ampler knowledge or more felicity in communicating it. Many of his facts and details are quite new, having been drawn from manuscripts, or books almost as rare as manuscripts. The care with which this part of the work has been prepared is perceptible in the style, which, with all his usual ease and grace, has more than his usual finish. It never oversteps the limits of good taste, but is tinged with that rich glow of coloring, so suited to the subject, which kindles the imagination, and almost compels an author to interweave with his sober prose the more vivid hues of poetry. It will doubtless be Mr. Prescott's good fortune to make permanently popular a recondite and abstruse subject, and to put himself in the same

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relation to his original authorities, in which Gibbon stands to monkish chroniclers and Byzantine historians.

Mr. Prescott's opinions on the origin of Mexican civilization were formed without reference to Mr. Stephens's publications, the essay which constitutes the Appendix having been prepared three years ago, and being now published as it was then written. The reader who compares this Appendix with the reflections of Mr. Stephens, contained in the closing chapters of his two works, will perceive a coincidence in some of their views. Conclusions formed under such different circumstances, by minds so unlike in their organization, by the student in his library, and the traveller under the sun and stars, certainly corroborate each other. It cannot but be a source of gratification to Mr. Prescott to find the results to which he has come confirmed by so intelligent an observer as Mr. Stephens, whose authority is entitled to much weight, even on speculative points. The latter, it is true, is not a man of learning, but he is, therefore, free from those "peccant humors of learning" which sometimes make the mind of the scholar "dark with excess of light." His strong sense, his sagacity, his shrewdness of observation, combined with the extraordinary opportunities he has enjoyed for personal inspection of the monuments of the Aztec civilization which are yet visible, give him the right to be heard with great respect, even upon questions on which the learned have speculated and the wise have doubted.

It may seem to our readers, that we have occupied a disproportionate space in our observations upon the Introduction and the Appendix, and that, as the narrative of the Conquest and of the subsequent events in the life of Cortés fills nearly two volumes and a half, it will not be possible for us to do equal justice to this, the main part of the work, without transcending the utmost limits allowed to a reviewer by the sufferance of editors and the courtesy of readers. But in dwelling so long upon the preliminary and supplemental matter, we have been influenced by a consideration rather of the novelty and interest of the subjects discussed, than of the comparative space which it occupies; and we feel in some measure justified by the statement which Mr. Prescott makes in his Preface, that the Introduction and Appendix have cost him as much labor, and nearly as much time, as the narrative.

The moment that we land with Cortés upon the shores

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of Mexico, we feel ourselves upon comparatively familiar ground. Few events in history are more extensively known, in their general outlines, than the conquest of Mexico. The romantic character of the enterprise itself, and the fact that it has been recorded by the classical pen of so popular a writer as Dr. Robertson, have made it one of those common-places of knowledge, with which every decently educated man is supposed to be acquainted. The names of Cortés and Montezuma are as familiar to the intelligent schoolboy, as those of Alexander and Darius. This is a disadvantage which must have presented itself distinctly to Mr. Prescott's mind, when he selected his subject. Nothing is more difficult than to give an attractive character to a thorough and detailed history of an event, which has been made universally popular by a well-written, though superficial sketch. It is like taking a traveller by slow stages, in an ordinary carriage, over a country through which he has been already whirled with the magic speed of steam. Such a journey can only be made pleasant by contriving that the resting-places shall be in spots interesting from their associations, or charming from their natural beauties of scenery and situation, and which the rapidity of his former mode of travelling compelled him to overlook. A somewhat similar necessity is imposed upon the historian who holds up to the view of the reader a subject in its full size and natural proportions, of which he has before seen a reduced copy in the pages of a skilful compiler. He must make his new matter so attractive, that the reader shall feel no impatience at the deliberate steps and slower movement by which the same point must now be approached. In this respect, Mr. Prescott has been eminently successful. We read with equal interest the minute details which were inconsistent with Dr. Robertson's flowing outline, and the new facts which Mr. Prescott's ampler sources of information have made known to him, and hang with fresh delight upon every page of an expanded narrative, the issue and leading events of which have long been familiar to us.

One of the "primal duties" of a historian is to give the very form and pressure of the time he is describing; to infuse its spirit into his pages; to paint his scenes to the eye as well as to the mind; to produce an effect resembling as nearly as possible the illusion created by seeing the events he narrates

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represented by well-trained actors, with appropriate costume, scenery, and decorations. Here, too, Mr. Prescott has been signally successful. His mind is not of that passionless cast which preserves its own cold identity, while recording the most romantic adventures and the most gallant enterprises; but is sufficiently impressible and sympathetic to become "subdued to what it works in," and to catch a contagious glow from that fiery valor whose brilliant achievements he is called upon to narrate. In his animated pages, we see, as in the mirror of Cornelius Agrippa, the very shape and features of the sixteenth century. He makes us feel the electric influences which the successive discoveries in America propagated through the veins of Europe; what unbounded fields for enterprise the stirring spirits of the time saw in those unknown regions; what brilliant fortunes the stout soldier hoped to carve out for himself with his good sword, in that western world of promise; what golden dreams of untold wealth haunted the feverish slumbers of avarice; what noontide visions it beheld of El Dorado cities, where the tiles of the houses were of pure gold, and the streets were paved with ingots of silver; with what zeal the breast of the religious enthusiast glowed, to bring out of the thick darkness of idolatry into the light of the true faith the natives of those benighted lands. He paints to the life those hardy adventurers who landed with Cortés upon the shores of Mexico; men who seemed to be the peculiar growth of the soil of Spain, and expressly fitted to carry out those great schemes of discovery and conquest which the plans of Providence imposed upon that nation; men of iron frames and iron resolution, of deliberate valor, patient of hunger and thirst, cheerfully bearing the extremes of heat and cold, insensible to fatigue, conforming themselves to the most rigid discipline, calm in the midst of danger, and vigilant in the midst of security; men of the same mould and spirit as those from whom the "Great Captain" had formed that terrible Spanish infantry, from whose serried ranks the impetuous chivalry of France had recoiled, in shattered disarray, as the wave is thrown back in foam and spray from the cliffs of an iron-bound coast; men, too, stained by those vices which form the natural shading to the light of their stern military virtues; with hearts as hard and as cold as the steel of their swords; ferociously bigoted, remorselessly cruel, knowing no law but the will of their commander, prodigal, reckless, and dissolute.

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With the same vivid pencil he has sketched the grand and beautiful scenery of Mexico, which awakened feelings of admiration even in the rude bosoms of the Spanish soldiers, steeled as they must have been against such soft emotions. We follow the army, step by step, through every part of their eventful progress. We march with them over the dreary sand plains of the coast; we traverse the luxuriant regions of the *tierra caliente*, glowing with all the splendors of tropical vegetation,—the land of the vanilla, cochineal, cacao, and, in later days, of the orange and the sugar-cane,—where the air is loaded with the fragrance of wild roses and honeysuckles,—where the mocking-bird pours out his "fiery heart" in a tide of song, and the fairy humming-bird rises from the delicate spray as lightly as if the flower itself had suddenly taken wings and flown from its stalk. We commence the gradual ascent which leads up to the table-land of Mexico, and breathe the purer and more bracing air of the *tierra templada*, where the more sober vegetation of the temperate zone begins to be mingled with the brilliant colors and fantastic forms of the tropics, and the aloe, the banana, and the myrtle are interspersed with groves of oak. The route winds round the base of extinct volcanoes, from whose snowy summits the wind sweeps down with piercing coldness. Higher up, we come upon that great central plain, which, at an elevation of seven thousand feet above the sea, stretches along the crests of the Cordilleras, and forms the highest of those natural terraces into which Mexico is distributed. Here the air is mild but invigorating, and the soil teems with a hardy growth of larch, oak, and cypress, now levelled by the merciless axe of the Conquerors, to recall, as it is said, more distinctly the image of those naked plains of Castile, which the force of memory and association had made so dear to them. Lying in the lap of this elevated plain, and encompassed by a towering rampart of rock, we behold the Valley of Mexico, an enchanted region of beauty and fertility, studded with towns and villages, overshadowed with stately forests, intermingled with blooming gardens and fields of maize twinkling in the sun, all brought near and presented to the eye in sharp distinctness of outline by the thin mountain air. The central point is occupied by the capital city, "the Venice of the Aztecs," floating swan-like upon the bosom of the waters, which reflect in softened beauty its towers and temples.

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A single extract will be sufficient to show our readers, that we have not expressed too strongly our sense of the vividness and graphic power of Mr. Prescott's descriptions, and the clearness with which he paints a landscape to the eye. It is the passage which describes the first view which the Spaniards had of the Valley of Mexico.

"The army held on its march through the intricate gorges of the sierra. The route was nearly the same as that pursued at the present day by the courier from the capital to Puebla, by the way of Mecameca. It was not that usually taken by travellers from Vera Cruz, who follow the more circuitous road round the northern base of Iztaccihuatl, as less fatiguing than the other, though inferior in picturesque scenery and romantic points of view. The icy winds, that now swept down the sides of the mountains, brought with them a tempest of arrowy sleet and snow, from which the Christians suffered even more than the Tlascalans, reared from infancy among the wild solitudes of their own native hills. As night came on, their sufferings would have been intolerable, but they luckily found a shelter in the commodious stone buildings which the Mexican government had placed at stated intervals along the roads for the accommodation of the traveller and their own couriers. It little dreamed it was providing a protection for its enemies.

"The troops, refreshed by a night's rest, succeeded, early on the following day, in gaining the crest of the sierra of Ahualco, which stretches like a curtain between the two great mountains on the north and south. Their progress was now comparatively easy, and they marched forward with a buoyant step, as they felt they were treading the soil of Montezuma.

"They had not advanced far, when, turning an angle of the sierra, they suddenly came on a view which more than compensated the toils of the preceding day. It was that of the Valley of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan, as more commonly called by the natives; which, with its picturesque assemblage of water, woodland, and cultivated plains, its shining cities and shadowy hills, was spread out like some gay and gorgeous panorama before them. In the highly rarefied atmosphere of these upper regions, even remote objects have a brilliancy of coloring and a distinctness of outline which seem to annihilate distance. Stretching far away at their feet, were seen noble forests of oak, sycamore, and cedar, and beyond, yellow fields of maize and the towering maguey, intermingled with orchards and blooming gardens; for flowers, in such demand for their religious festivals, were even more abundant in this populous valley than in other parts of Ana-

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huac. In the centre of the great basin were beheld the lakes, occupying then a much larger portion of its surface than at present; their borders thickly studded with towns and hamlets, and, in the midst, — like some Indian empress with her coronal of pearls, — the fair city of Mexico, with her white towers and pyramidal temples, reposing, as it were, on the bosom of the waters, — the far-famed 'Venice of the Aztecs.' High over all rose the royal hill of Chapoltepec, the residence of the Mexican monarchs, crowned with the same grove of gigantic cypresses, which at this day fling their broad shadows over the land. In the distance beyond the blue waters of the lake, and nearly screened by intervening foliage, was seen a shining speck, the rival capital of Tezcuco, and, still further on, the dark belt of porphyry, girdling the Valley around, like a rich setting which Nature had devised for the fairest of her jewels.

"Such was the beautiful vision which broke on the eyes of the Conquerors. And even now, when so sad a change has come over the scene; when the stately forests have been laid low, and the soil, unsheltered from the fierce radiance of a tropical sun, is in many places abandoned to sterility; when the waters have retired, leaving a broad and ghastly margin white with the incrustation of salts, while the cities and hamlets on their borders have mouldered into ruins; — even now that desolation broods over the landscape, so indestructible are the lines of beauty which Nature has traced on its features, that no traveller, however cold, can gaze on them with any other emotions than those of astonishment and rapture.

"What, then, must have been the emotions of the Spaniards, when, after working their toilsome way into the upper air, the cloudy tabernacle parted before their eyes, and they beheld these fair scenes in all their pristine magnificence and beauty! It was like the spectacle which greeted the eyes of Moses from the summit of Pisgah, and, in the warm glow of their feelings, they cried out, 'It is the promised land!'" — Vol. II. pp. 50 – 53.

In the use which Mr. Prescott has made of his various materials, in the apt distribution and symmetrical arrangement of his subject, in his observance of the rules of historical perspective, which give to the objects and figures of the foreground and background their appropriate dimensions, he has shown the same judgment and skill which were so signally displayed in the finished proportions of his history of Ferdinand and Isabella, and which distinguish the historian from the chronicler, the artist from the mechanic. After entering upon the narrative, an obvious difficulty pre-

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sented itself in the sickening detail of battles and slaughter, which it became his duty to narrate. The course of the conquering army is everywhere to be tracked by bloody foot-prints. The clash of arms is interrupted only by short breathing-spaces of repose. The eye is wearied with the perpetual gleaming of steel, and the ear vexed with the constant rattle of musketry. Nothing is more tedious and revolting than the record of battles, where no great principle is at issue, where no precious prize is staked upon the result, where nothing is gained to humanity by the blood that is poured out, and where no sublime feeling of self-sacrifice sustains the fainting frame and lights up the dying eye with gleams of triumph. At Marathon or Bunker Hill, we can hang with interest upon every stroke that is dealt, and every shot that is fired, because the course of events and the progress of humanity have invested these contests with a dignity and importance which bear no proportion to the numbers engaged in them; but what eye can watch, with the same minuteness of observation, the bloody fields of carnage which mark the devastating career of Attila, Tamerlane, or Genghis Khan? Milton has remarked, and Hume has quoted the remark with approbation, that the wars of the Heptarchy are as little worth recording as the fights of kites or crows.

In the case of the battles fought by the Conquerors of Mexico, this feeling is enhanced by the pitiable odds between the contending parties. Until we come to the capital itself, where the Aztecs fought with the frantic desperation of a wild animal at bay, aided by the peculiar position and construction of the city, which were singularly suited to embarrass the movements of a besieging army, and to enable the inhabitants to act with advantage, there was nothing like a fair contest or an impartial distribution of danger. Their contests are not so much battles as massacres of the weak, the defenceless, and the unarmed by the strong and the armed, in which the work of death is only arrested by sheer weariness of muscle, and the sword is not sheathed till it is clogged with slaughter. Masses of naked Indians are brought forward only to be mowed down by the iron hail of artillery, to be trampled under foot by the fiery charge of horsemen, — an apparition that always paralyzed them with terror, — to be pierced through with lances, and cloven down with swords. In such cases, it is idle to talk of the disparity

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of numbers. No amount of numbers can make the naked, the timid, and the weak commensurate antagonists to the strong, the brave, and the well armed. A thousand antelopes are not a match for a single lion. The Spaniards had advantages that more than made up for all numerical inferiority, in their horses and their firearms, which were equally new revelations to the simple Indians, and alike invested by them with supernatural terrors. Their crowded ranks only presented a fairer mark to the cannon and arquebuse, and made the confusion, into which they were thrown by charges of cavalry, more extensive and irremediable.

This difficulty did not escape Mr. Prescott's observation, and he has shown his usual judgment in the means employed to obviate it. He has relieved the bloody monotony of the Conquest by a variety of collateral matter, which throws light upon the main narrative, and furnishes us with the information necessary for understanding the story. With this view, he has introduced rather minute descriptions of the states or provinces through which the Spaniards passed in their march to the capital, — such as the holy city of Cholula, the Mecca or Jerusalem of the Aztec race, and the interesting republic of Tlascala, whose rocky fastnesses were defended by that unconquerable valor which seems the natural growth of a mountain soil. His frequent pictures of natural scenery afford the same grateful relief to the mind; and the same purpose is served by the minute and animated accounts he gives us of the capital, its romantic situation, its peculiar structure, its architectural wonders; and of Montezuma's habits of life, the ceremonials of his court, and the splendors of his palace. With all this, the eye is always kept fixed upon the city of Mexico as the central point in the picture, and the great prize to be struggled for, and wherever the story is likely to have an engrossing interest from its own nature, it is not broken by any interpolations.

Every well-conditioned mind, that prefers the open daylight of truth to the dim twilight of delusion, will feel pleasure in the distinct views which Mr. Prescott gives of an event, of which most persons, we apprehend, have rather a vague and cloudy impression. We usually read Robertson's narrative early in life, and retain ever afterwards a dreamy image of a romantic enterprise, with no clear apprehension of the means by which it was accomplished. As we look back upon it, it

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seems something marvellous and unreal, like the wild adventures of knight-errantry, where giants are slain and princesses rescued, — where, by the prowess of a single arm, rightful kings are restored and usurpers are vanquished. No one will regret the removal of these clouds of delusion, though fancy may have painted them in colors of purple and gold. Amid all the enchantments of his subject, Mr. Prescott has kept unimpaired that sober tone of mind essential to historical inquiry ; has adhered scrupulously to facts, fortifying every statement by reference to original authorities ; has conscientiously investigated all doubtful or disputed points, and given us that full information upon all matters of detail, such as dates, numbers, and dimensions, which can alone make the knowledge we have of any matter entirely satisfactory. Under the guidance of his sagacious judgment and penetrating industry, we are enabled to trace that regular sequence of cause and effect in the successes of Cortés, which, astonishing as they were, takes away their supernatural character. While we acknowledge it to be a very extraordinary enterprise, we perceive that its favorable result was brought about by many accidental and unforeseen circumstances, without any one of which it must have been doubtful, and without some of them, impossible. How greatly, for instance, were they aided in their progress by that remarkable tradition, universally believed, which foretold the downfall of the Aztec empire by a race of men who should come from the East and resemble the Spaniards in physical peculiarities ! a tradition, of which they could have known nothing before they landed, and the effect of which upon so superstitious a people can hardly be overestimated. Of how great importance do we perceive it to be, that Cortés should have the means of communicating with the various tribes or communities which he encountered on his march, and how little to be foreseen were the chances which enabled him to do so by the combined aid of Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar ! How different a catastrophe might the historian have been called upon to record, if the resolute Guatemozin had occupied the throne, upon the landing of the Spaniards, instead of the vacillating and superstitious Montezuma ; or if the councils of Tlascala had been guided by the unconquerable spirit and clear-sighted sagacity of Xicotencatl ; or if Narvaez, who was sent to supersede Cortés, had been equal to him in en-

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ergy and capacity! And above all, how essentially were the plans of the Spaniards aided by the character of the Aztec empire itself; an aggregate of distinct communities, with no natural cohesion, and bound together by no stronger ties than those of fear! Like the iron and clay in the vision, the separate parts were united, but would not coalesce. Cortés conquered Mexico by dividing it; by fanning into a flame the sparks of disaffection which the terror of Montezuma's name had kept smothered and concealed, by vanquishing the separate portions, and making their inhabitants his allies, and requiring them to serve under his banner. His Indian auxiliaries are entitled to at least an equal share in the honors of the conquest.

In what we have just said, we do not wish to be understood as at all detracting from the merit of those remarkable qualities of character displayed by the Conquerors of Mexico, and especially by Cortés, who was so eminently the heart and soul of the enterprise. Though, under the penetrating light which Mr. Prescott has brought to bear upon the achievement, it may have lost somewhat of its visionary glories, the substantial facts, which claim and justify our sober admiration, are set forth in more distinct relief. To appreciate fully the resolution, hardihood, and perseverance displayed by that band of adventurers, we must go back to their own age, and wrap round ourselves the cloud of their own ignorance. We must remember, that they were, at every step of their progress, discoverers as well as conquerors. They landed upon the shores of a country of which they knew nothing, and boldly set out upon their wonderful march, ignorant of what a day or an hour might bring forth. They knew not the extent or the resources of the country they invaded; nor where was its capital city; nor how far off was the ocean that washed its opposite shores. They knew not in what distinct shape the dangers they were to encounter would present themselves; whether in that of hunger, or thirst, or cold, or opposing steel. They could not tell what pathless forests, what impassable chains of mountains, what desert wastes of sand might lie between them and the end of their march. It was literally a groping in the dark, where they could only feel sure of the ground on which their very feet were planted. And yet, in spite of all this, — in spite of the power which the imagination has in magnifying un-

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known perils, they pressed resolutely on, with nothing but an occasional murmur of discontent, which the address of their leader found no difficulty in allaying, and certainly without any symptom of faint-heartedness. As they toilsomely climbed up the steep mountain-path, encumbered with blackened scoriæ and broken masses of lava, that told of volcanic fires hidden under their dazzling mantles of snow, that might at any moment break out and sweep them away in their resistless fury, and saw in the distant horizon that ocean, that connected them with the world they had left, gradually diminishing to a faint blue line, and at last entirely disappearing from their straining sight, not one cheek grew pale, not one eye was suffused with unmanly tears. What bounds should we set to our admiration of qualities like these, if they had only been exerted in the cause of truth, philanthropy, and religion, and not been dedicated to the service of sordid cupidity, selfish ambition, and ruthless bigotry?

The same effect will be produced in regard to the estimate, which we are now able to form, of the capacity and resources of Cortés. He seems to us to be a greater man than we had ever before supposed. Putting the moral element, the question of right and wrong, entirely aside, — we cannot refuse a constant tribute of admiration to the qualities of mind and character which he displays; to his sagacity, his forecast, his sound judgment, his fertility of invention, his inflexible resolution, his natural eloquence, and that mixture of dignity and affability which won at once the respect and attachment of his grim followers, who would not have brooked, for an hour, the authority of a leader who did not vindicate his claim to command by native superiority. We see in him the virtues alike of the soldier and the commander. Upon him the success of the enterprise rests, and the responsibility of a leader weighs heavily upon his brow, and banishes sleep from his lids; and yet, when the trumpet sounds, we find him gallantly fighting with his own hand, where the strife is most deadly, and the danger most pressing, deciding more than one battle by his own personal prowess; never elated by good fortune, never disheartened by reverses; counterfeiting a cheerfulness when he has it not, and inspiring a confidence which he does not feel. He forms his plans with cautious deliberation, and executes them with lightning-like rapidity. By a brilliant *coup-de-main*, he sur-

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prises Narvaez in his bed, and crushes his formidable opposition at a single blow ; and that, too, with a mere handful of followers, badly clothed, imperfectly armed, and wasted by hunger and forced marches. The sagacity, with which he perceived the great assistance that might be derived from the use of brigantines upon the lake of Mexico, shows the prophetic eye of a great military genius ; and the plan, which he subsequently devised, and put into successful execution, of having thirteen vessels of war constructed at Tlascala, taken to pieces, transported sixty miles, across the mountains, on the shoulders of men, and then reconstructed and launched upon the lake, — a stupendous and unparalleled achievement, — is a proof of the highest fertility of invention, of resolute energy, and indomitable perseverance. The wary skill, too, with which he made his approaches to the devoted capital, preparatory to its final siege, the line of circumvallation which he gradually drew around it by his successive conquests, the wise disposition he made of his forces, all argue a military capacity of the highest order, which, had it been displayed upon the grander stage, and with the ampler means of European warfare, would have won such laurels as the " Great Captain " himself might have been proud to wear.

One of the most remarkable things in the conquest of Mexico is the short space of time in which it was accomplished. As this is a consideration which a reader is very likely to overlook in the interest of the narrative, we have thought it expedient to give a summary of the dates of the principal events, that it may be more distinctly presented to the mind. The Spaniards landed in Mexico on the twenty-first day of April, 1519. Some months are spent upon the coast, in founding the colony at Vera Cruz, and in friendly intercourse with the natives at Cempoalla. They begin their march to Mexico on the sixteenth day of August. They enter the city of Tlascala on the twenty-third day of September. They arrive at the city of Mexico on the eighth day of November, and pass the winter there. About the middle of May, 1520, Cortés leaves Mexico to encounter the forces of Narvaez, and returns there in triumph on the twenty-fourth day of June. On the first day of July, the Spaniards evacuate the city of Mexico. The battle of Otumba is fought on the eighth day of July ; and in a few days after, the victorious Spaniards reach the friendly city of Tlascala. The

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remainder of the summer and the autumn are passed in wars with the neighbouring tribes, in various preparations, and in waiting for reinforcements. They set out from Tlascala, on their return to the city of Mexico, on the twenty-eighth day of December, and enter Tezcuco on the thirty-first day of the same month. Some months are spent in reducing various places bordering on the lake, preparatory to the siege of the capital. The brigantines are launched on the lake on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1521, and the siege soon after begins. The city is captured, and Guatemozin taken prisoner, on the thirteenth day of August of the same year, which completes the conquest. Thus, in little more than two years, was a large and powerful empire, covering a space twice as large as New England, added to the crown of Spain by a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, and fighting at their own charges. What parallel can history furnish to this ?

The nature of the enterprise, and the small number of conspicuous persons engaged in it, give the historian but a limited range for the delineation of character. With the exception of Doña Marina, whose gentle and feminine traits shine out from the scenes of blood and violence in which she appears, like "a sunbeam on a stormy sea," and whose amiable qualities have caused her name and memory to be cherished with equal fondness by the descendants of the conquerors and the conquered, our attention is almost wholly absorbed by the two principal personages on each side, Montezuma and Cortés, so unlike in character and in fortune.

No one can look without a feeling of compassionate interest upon the portrait of the Indian Emperor, prefixed to the second volume, which, if not authentic, at least deserves to be so. It has the melancholy expression of one who feels himself unequal to the duties which have been imposed upon him by the hand of Destiny. We read in that drooping brow, and in that "dejected havior of the visage," a consciousness, that the fortunes of the Aztec race, once so flourishing and palmy, had, in his person, fallen "into the sear, the yellow leaf," — that that star of empire, which had so proudly blazed upon the western sky, was now to go down in darkness and blood. He seems to have been one of those characters, not uncommon in history, who, in ordinary times, succeed in giving to others the impression of

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qualities which they do not possess, by the aid which they derive from the circumstances of their position, and the fortunate accidents of their lot; as a strong man can easily appear brave, and a rich man cheaply acquires the reputation of generosity. Called in the prime of life to occupy the throne of a great empire, commanding large armies, and wielding extensive military resources, aided, too, by the divinity that hedged his person and office in the eyes of his subjects, he makes his name a word of terror throughout the whole extent of Mexico, — at which the boldest cheek turns pale, and the stoutest heart throbs with uncomfortable apprehensions. The Spaniards are everywhere told of his military prowess, his irresistible power, the haughty severity of his manners, the terrors of his awakened wrath. Every thing that we hear leads us to expect a character of the heroic stamp, — resolute of purpose, prompt in action, — who would oppose to the progress of the invaders a courage as fiery, and a constancy of purpose as inflexible, as their own. Yet when peril assails him in an unprecedented form, and he falls upon times that try the temper of his soul; when his palace is darkened by rumors of the mysterious beings that have landed upon the coast, and are marching, in spite of all opposition and resistance, towards the capital; we find him timid, irresolute, vacillating, and short-sighted; an object alternately of pity and contempt. He is ever halting between two opinions; now taking counsel of his hopes, and now of his fears; losing in weak indecision the golden moments of opportunity; looking in vain in the oracles of destiny for that support which he should have found in the manly promptings of his own breast; and at last adopting that halfway course, which was of all others the most impolitic, since it revealed at once his weakness and his wealth. The reader will find a peculiar interest in all the details which Mr. Prescott has given us of the life, character, and habits of this monarch, and especially in the personal anecdotes recorded of him, while a captive in the hands of the Spaniards. The impression which they leave upon us is that of delicacy, gentleness, courtesy, and generosity, — of more of the Christian virtues than dwelt in the stern bosom of his Catholic rival; and that, if he was a weak sovereign, he was endowed

"With all good grace to grace a gentleman."

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The following is Mr. Prescott's beautiful sketch of the closing hours of the unfortunate monarch.

"The Indian monarch had rapidly declined, since he had received his injury, sinking, however, quite as much under the anguish of a wounded spirit, as under disease. He continued in the same moody state of insensibility as that already described; holding little communication with those around him, deaf to consolation, obstinately rejecting all medical remedies as well as nourishment. Perceiving his end approach, some of the cavaliers present in the fortress, whom the kindness of his manners had personally attached to him, were anxious to save the soul of the dying prince from the sad doom of those who perish in the darkness of unbelief. They accordingly waited on him, with father Olmedo at their head, and in the most earnest manner implored him to open his eyes to the error of his creed, and consent to be baptized. But Montezuma — whatever may have been suggested to the contrary — seems never to have faltered in his hereditary faith, or to have contemplated becoming an apostate; for surely he merits that name in its most odious application, who, whether Christian or Pagan, renounces his religion without conviction of its falsehood. Indeed, it was a too implicit reliance on its oracles, which had led him to give such easy confidence to the Spaniards. His intercourse with them had, doubtless, not sharpened his desire to embrace their communion; and the calamities of his country he might consider as sent by his gods to punish him for his hospitality to those who had desecrated and destroyed their shrines.

"When father Olmedo, therefore, kneeling at his side, with the uplifted crucifix, affectionately besought him to embrace the sign of man's redemption, he coldly repulsed the priest, exclaiming, 'I have but a few moments to live; and will not, at this hour, desert the faith of my fathers.' One thing, however, seemed to press heavily on Montezuma's mind. This was the fate of his children, especially of three daughters, whom he had by his two wives; for there were certain rites of marriage, which distinguished the lawful wife from the concubine. Calling Cortés to his bedside, he earnestly commended these children to his care, as 'the most precious jewels that he could leave him.' He besought the general to interest his master, the Emperor, in their behalf, and to see that they should not be left destitute, but be allowed some portion of their rightful inheritance. 'Your lord will do this,' he concluded, 'if it were only for the friendly offices I have rendered the Spaniards, and for the love I have shown them, — though it has brought me to this condition! But for this I bear them no ill-will.' Such, according to Cortés him-

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self, were the words of the dying monarch. Not long after, on the 30th of June, 1520, he expired in the arms of some of his own nobles, who still remained faithful in their attendance on his person. 'Thus,' exclaims a native historian, one of his enemies, a Tlascalan, 'thus died the unfortunate Montezuma, who had swayed the sceptre with such consummate policy and wisdom; and who was held in greater reverence and awe than any other prince of his lineage, or any, indeed, that ever sat on a throne in this Western World. With him may be said to have terminated the royal line of the Aztecs, and the glory to have passed away from the empire, which under him had reached the zenith of its prosperity.' 'The tidings of his death,' says the old Castilian chronicler, Diaz, 'were received with real grief by every cavalier and soldier in the army who had had access to his person; for we all loved him as a father, — and no wonder, seeing how good he was.' This simple, but emphatic, testimony to his desert, at such a time, is in itself the best refutation of the suspicions occasionally entertained of his fidelity to the Christians.

"It is not easy to depict the portrait of Montezuma in its true colors, since it has been exhibited to us under two aspects, of the most opposite and contradictory character. In the accounts gathered of him by the Spaniards, on coming into the country, he was uniformly represented as bold and warlike, unscrupulous as to the means of gratifying his ambition, hollow and perfidious, the terror of his foes, with a haughty bearing which made him feared even by his own people. They found him, on the contrary, not merely affable and gracious, but disposed to waive all the advantages of his own position, and to place them on a footing with himself; making their wishes his law; gentle even to effeminacy in his deportment, and constant in his friendship, while his whole nation was in arms against them. Yet these traits, so contradictory, were truly enough drawn. They are to be explained by the extraordinary circumstances of his position.

"When Montezuma ascended the throne, he was scarcely twenty-three years of age. Young, and ambitious of extending his empire, he was continually engaged in war, and is said to have been present himself in nine pitched battles. He was greatly renowned for his martial prowess, for he belonged to the *Quachictin*, the highest military order of his nation, and one into which but few, even of its sovereigns, had been admitted. In later life, he preferred intrigue to violence, as more consonant to his character and priestly education. In this he was as great an adept as any prince of his time, and, by arts not very honorable to himself, succeeded in filching away much of the territory of his royal kinsman of Tezcuco. Severe in the administration of

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justice, he made important reforms in the arrangement of the tribunals. He introduced other innovations in the royal household, creating new offices, introducing a lavish magnificence and forms of courtly etiquette unknown to his ruder predecessors. He was, in short, most attentive to all that concerned the exterior and pomp of royalty. Stately and decorous, he was careful of his own dignity, and might be said to be as great an 'actor of majesty' among the barbarian potentates of the New World, as Louis the Fourteenth was among the polished princes of Europe.

"He was deeply tinctured, moreover, with that spirit of bigotry, which threw such a shade over the latter days of the French monarch. He received the Spaniards as the beings predicted by his oracles. The anxious dread, with which he had evaded their proffered visit, was founded on the same feelings which led him so blindly to resign himself to them on their approach. He felt himself rebuked by their superior genius. He at once conceded all that they demanded, — his treasures, his power, even his person. For their sake, he forsook his wonted occupations, his pleasures, his most familiar habits. He might be said to forego his nature; and, as his subjects asserted, to change his sex and become a woman. If we cannot refuse our contempt for the pusillanimity of the Aztec monarch, it should be mitigated by the consideration, that his pusillanimity sprung from his superstition, and that superstition in the savage is the substitute for religious principle in the civilized man.

"It is not easy to contemplate the fate of Montezuma without feelings of the strongest compassion; — to see him thus borne along the tide of events beyond his power to avert or control; to see him, like some stately tree, the pride of his own Indian forests, towering aloft in the pomp and majesty of its branches, by its very eminence a mark for the thunderbolt, the first victim of the tempest which was to sweep over its native hills! When the wise king of Tezcuco addressed his royal relative at his coronation, he exclaimed, 'Happy the empire, which is now in the meridian of its prosperity, for the sceptre is given to one whom the Almighty has in his keeping; and the nations shall hold him in reverence!' Alas! the subject of this auspicious invocation lived to see his empire melt away like the winter's wreath; to see a strange race drop, as it were, from the clouds on his land; to find himself a prisoner in the palace of his fathers, the companion of those who were the enemies of his gods and his people; to be insulted, reviled, trodden in the dust, by the meanest of his subjects, by those who, a few months previous, had trembled at his glance; drawing his last breath in the halls of the

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stranger, — a lonely outcast in the heart of his own capital! He was the sad victim of destiny, — a destiny as dark and irresistible in its march, as that which broods over the mythic legends of Antiquity!" — Vol. II. pp. 342 – 351.

The colossal character of Cortés, however, absorbs our attention, to the exclusion of almost every thing else. He fills the whole canvass with his mighty stature, and every other personage seems dwarfed by his side. The details which Mr. Prescott has given us of his life, before and after the Conquest, supply us with the means of tracing the connexion and affinity between his tumultuous youth, — restless and uneasy, like that of Oliver Cromwell, from the want of a sphere adequate to his vast energies, — his fiery and enterprising manhood, and his dignified and peaceful decline. We commend entirely the course adopted by Mr. Prescott, in continuing the narrative to the death of Cortés, though the story of the Conquest terminates with the fall of the capital. This impairs, it is true, the proportions of the subject as a narrative of the Conquest, but preserves them more entire as a biography of Cortés, which, in fact, the work really is. The Conquest was only a chapter, though a long and important one, in the crowded life of this extraordinary man. The transition, too, from the horrors of an exterminating contest, and the sickening details of famine and carnage, to the quiet walks of civilization, the aspect of reviving prosperity, the hum of regular industry, the peaceful victories of agriculture, and the progress of maritime discovery, will be felt as a grateful relief to the mind, grown familiar with so much that makes war hateful, so little that makes it stirring. Many of the facts in his life, subsequent to the Conquest, have been drawn from original materials, and will have all the attraction of novelty. The reader will learn with surprise the interesting details of a career of adventurous enterprise after that event, which, in the apprehension of most persons, comprises all the claims of Cortés to be remembered as a historical personage. The respect and admiration, which were awakened by the energy and capacity displayed in the Conquest, will be enhanced by the wisdom which he showed in the government of the country he had won, and by the generous ardor with which, at the lavish sacrifice of his own resources, he prosecuted his schemes of maritime discovery. Most men would have thought the distinction ac-

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quired by so wonderful an achievement, a sufficient apology for a life of ease and self-indulgence ; especially as the gratitude of his sovereign had rewarded his inestimable services with honor and wealth, — those glittering prizes which awaken all the faculties in their pursuit, but which, when won, are more likely to blunt than to sharpen the edge of enterprise. He surely might have been pardoned, if, after the toils and perils of the Conquest, he had retired to his ample estates, and quietly occupied himself with their cultivation and improvement, entertaining the friends whom he had gathered round his hospitable table with stories of the dangers he had passed, and perhaps, (as he could handle the pen no less than the sword,) amusing himself with writing a full and connected narrative of those events, of which he had transmitted official reports to his sovereign. But Cortés was a man of another stamp. His indefatigable energy was of that kind which neither wealth, nor honor, nor advancing years had any power to chill or repress. His terrible march to Honduras shows, in their unabated force, all those astonishing qualities of hardihood, resolution, and constancy, which had raised a nameless adventurer to a level with the highest and proudest of the nobles of his country. The voyages of discovery, which he planned with so much sagacity and prosecuted with so much ardor, would, as Mr. Prescott justly observes, have made the glory and satisfied the ambition of a common man ; but they are lost in the brilliant renown of his former achievements. In his fifty-eighth year, we find him embarked as a volunteer in the memorable expedition against Algiers, and, with all his youthful fire, offering to undertake the reduction of the place himself, with the support of the army, and save the arms of Spain from the humiliation of a repulse. The regulations, too, which he made, immediately after the Conquest, for the government of the country he had won, the means which he adopted to repair the ravages of war, to accomplish the settlement of unoccupied territories, and to augment its agricultural resources, show the far-sighted views of a wise statesman, and that great injustice is done by those who confound him with the common herd of successful military adventurers. His is certainly one of the memorable names in history ; endowed with extraordinary qualities of mind and character, which we should never overlook or be insensible to, however strongly our moral indigna-

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tion may be awakened by the ends to which he dedicated them.

We quote a portion of Mr. Prescott's eloquent and discriminating estimate of the character of Cortés.

"The personal history of Cortés has been so minutely detailed in the preceding narrative, that it will only be necessary to touch on the more prominent features of his character. Indeed, the history of the Conquest, as I have already had occasion to remark, is necessarily that of Cortés, who is, if I may so say, not merely the soul, but the body, of the enterprise; present everywhere in person, in the thick of the fight, or in the building of the works, with his sword or with his musket, sometimes leading his soldiers, and sometimes directing his little navy. The negotiations, intrigues, correspondence, are all conducted by him; and, like Cæsar, he wrote his own Commentaries in the heat of the stirring scenes which form the subject of them. His character is marked with the most opposite traits, embracing qualities apparently the most incompatible. He was avaricious, yet liberal; bold to desperation, yet cautious and calculating in his plans; magnanimous, yet very cunning; courteous and affable in his deportment, yet inexorably stern; lax in his notions of morality, yet (not uncommon) a sad bigot. The great feature in his character was constancy of purpose; a constancy not to be daunted by danger, nor baffled by disappointment, nor wearied out by impediments and delays.

"He was a knight-errant, in the literal sense of the word. Of all the band of adventurous cavaliers, whom Spain, in the sixteenth century, sent forth on the career of discovery and conquest, there was none more deeply filled with the spirit of romantic enterprise than Hernando Cortés. Dangers and difficulties, instead of deterring, seemed to have a charm in his eyes. They were necessary to rouse him to a full consciousness of his powers. He grappled with them at the outset, and, if I may so express myself, seemed to prefer to take his enterprises by the most difficult side. He conceived, at the first moment of his landing in Mexico, the design of its conquest. When he saw the strength of its civilization, he was not turned from his purpose. When he was assailed by the superior force of Narvaez, he still persisted in it; and, when he was driven in ruin from the capital, he still cherished his original idea. How successfully he carried it into execution, we have seen. After the few years of repose which succeeded the Conquest, his adventurous spirit impelled him to that dreary march across the marshes of Chiapa; and, after another interval, to seek his fortunes on the stormy

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Californian Gulf. When he found that no other continent remained for him to conquer, he made serious proposals to the Emperor to equip a fleet at his own expense, with which he would sail to the Moluccas, and subdue the Spice-Islands for the Crown of Castile!

"This spirit of knight-errantry might lead us to undervalue his talents as a general, and to regard him merely in the light of a lucky adventurer. But this would be doing him injustice; for Cortés was certainly a great general, if that man be one, who performs great achievements with the resources which his own genius has created. There is probably no instance in history, where so vast an enterprise has been achieved by means apparently so inadequate. He may be truly said to have effected the Conquest by his own resources. If he was indebted for his success to the coöperation of the Indian tribes, it was the force of his genius that obtained command of such materials. He arrested the arm that was lifted to smite him, and made it do battle in his behalf. He beat the Tlascalans, and made them his stanch allies. He beat the soldiers of Narvaez, and doubled his effective force by it. When his own men deserted him, he did not desert himself. He drew them back by degrees, and compelled them to act by his will, till they were all as one man. He brought together the most miscellaneous collection of mercenaries who ever fought under one standard; adventurers from Cuba and the Isles, craving for gold; hidalgos, who came from the old country to win laurels; broken-down cavaliers, who hoped to mend their fortunes in the New World; vagabonds flying from justice; the grasping followers of Narvaez, and his own reckless veterans, — men with hardly a common tie, and burning with the spirit of jealousy and faction; wild tribes of the natives from all parts of the country, who had been sworn enemies from their cradles, and who had only met to cut one another's throats, and to procure victims for sacrifice; men, in short, differing in race, in language, and in interests, with scarcely any thing in common among them. Yet this motley congregation was assembled in one camp, compelled to bend to the will of one man, to consort together in harmony, to breathe, as it were, one spirit, and to move on a common principle of action! It is in this wonderful power over the discordant masses thus gathered under his banner, that we recognise the genius of the great commander, no less than in the skill of his military operations.

"His power over the minds of his soldiers was a natural result of their confidence in his abilities. But it is also to be attributed to his popular manners, — that happy union of authori-

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ty and companionship, which fitted him for the command of a band of roving adventurers. It would not have done for him to have fenced himself round with the stately reserve of a commander of regular forces. He was embarked with his men in a common adventure, and nearly on terms of equality, since he held his commission by no legal warrant. But, while he indulged this freedom and familiarity with his soldiers, he never allowed it to interfere with their strict obedience, nor to impair the severity of discipline. When he had risen to higher consideration, although he affected more state, he still admitted his veterans to the same intimacy. 'He preferred,' says Diaz, 'to be called "Cortés" by us, to being called by any title; and with good reason,' continues the enthusiastic old cavalier, 'for the name of Cortés is as famous in our day as was that of Cæsar among the Romans, or of Hannibal among the Carthaginians.' He showed the same kind regard towards his ancient comrades in the very last act of his life. For he appropriated a sum by his will for the celebration of two thousand masses for the souls of those who had fought with him in the campaigns of Mexico.

* * * * *

"One trait more remains to be noticed in the character of this remarkable man; that is, his bigotry, the failing of the age, — for, surely, it should be termed only a failing. When we see the hand, red with the blood of the wretched native, raised to invoke the blessing of Heaven on the cause which it maintains, we experience something like a sensation of disgust at the act, and a doubt of its sincerity. But this is unjust. We should throw ourselves back (it cannot be too often repeated) into the age; the age of the Crusades. For every Spanish cavalier, however sordid and selfish might be his private motives, felt himself to be the soldier of the Cross. Many of them would have died in defence of it. Whoever has read the correspondence of Cortés, or, still more, has attended to the circumstances of his career, will hardly doubt that he would have been among the first to lay down his life for the Faith. He more than once perilled life, and fortune, and the success of his whole enterprise, by the premature and most impolitic manner in which he would have forced conversion on the natives. To the more rational spirit of the present day, enlightened by a purer Christianity, it may seem difficult to reconcile gross deviations from morals with such devotion to the cause of religion. But the religion taught in that day was one of form and elaborate ceremony. In the punctilious attention to discipline, the spirit of Christianity was permitted to evaporate. The mind, occupied with forms, thinks little of substance. In a worship that is ad-

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dressed too exclusively to the senses, it is often the case, that morality becomes divorced from religion, and the measure of righteousness is determined by the creed rather than by the conduct." — Vol. III. pp. 352 – 362.

It may be objected by some persons, that Mr. Prescott has not reprobated with sufficient severity the cruel excesses with which the conquest of Mexico was stained, and that, especially, he has passed too mild a sentence upon the character of Cortés. Undoubtedly, there is room for a tone of more indignant declamation on these points than Mr. Prescott has indulged himself in, and a writer of more impassioned temperament would probably have recorded a more stern and vehement protest. Readers of an enthusiastic humanity will be very likely to regret the measured language which he employs. But they should hear before they condemn. Mr. Prescott did not feel himself called upon to take the ground of a moralist, and to use the events of the Conquest as a theme upon which to discourse, and by means of which to inspire a just horror of bigotry and cruelty. He felt it to be his duty to preserve that sobriety of mind which is ever appropriate to a historian, and to give the Spaniards the advantage, to which they are fairly entitled, of being judged by the standard of their own age — of being tried by their peers. In weighing the errors and crimes which darken the page of history, allowance must be made for the influences of different periods of society, and for the state of public opinion at the time. We must be satisfied, if men are no worse than their neighbours. We have no right to apply to one age the moral standard of another. We do not condemn the suicide of Cato as we do that of a modern felon. If a Lord Chancellor in our times should accept a present from a suitor in his court, a deeper weight of obloquy would rest upon his name than weighs down the memory of the illustrious Bacon, because in his days the practice was not without precedent. A member of Parliament, who should now defend the slave-trade with such arguments as were listened to with favor in the year seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, would find his voice lost in a general hiss of indignation. We do not judge Dryden as we should a dramatic author who should now insult the public with the ribaldry of his "Limberham," or "Wild Gallant." This principle Mr. Prescott has kept steadily in view. He extenuates nothing,

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and apologizes for nothing. He relates in temperate language every enormity of the Conquerors, and furnishes them with the explanation to which they are fairly entitled. Now, a reader has a right to say, that this is not the way in which history should be written. He may prefer, that the historian should look at all moral questions from the point of view supplied by his own age, and may insist, that the interests of truth require that all historical personages should be tried by the highest standard. It may be so. But this is not the question. The point at issue is, whether Mr. Prescott is not right, if you grant him his own premises. Take the character of Cortés. It is admitted, that he was treacherous, bigoted, and cruel, and that our admiration of his energy and capacity is ever checked by the moral reprobation which his conduct awakens. But was he any worse than the conspicuous men of action in his time, always excepting Columbus, who was raised above his contemporaries not less by the purity of his motives than by the grandeur of his genius? Nay, more; of all the successful soldiers who have scourged the earth, — the hunters of mankind, from Nimrod to Napoleon, — how many have left a whiter name than his? How many have ever shrunk from falsehood, or cruelty, when an obstacle was to be removed or an advantage to be gained? We abhor the character of Cortés, it is true; but we no less abhor that of hundreds of others of the great names of history, — men who have carved out kingdoms with their swords, who have founded families, and won wealth and honor, whose praises have been sung by venal minstrels, and whose features and forms the glowing canvass and the breathing marble have transmitted to posterity.

The materials for the history of the Conquest, both in manuscript and in print, are various and ample. The writings of Las Casas, Herrera, Oviedo, Camargo, and Toribio furnish information more or less authentic, and either directly or incidentally useful. The letters of Cortés are of great value, as having been written on the spot by the principal actor in the scenes commemorated; but we need dwell no further upon these, as they form the subject of an article in our last Number.* Two of the principal authorities are

* We take the liberty here of correcting a statement, which was inadvertently made in that article, that the publication of Mr. Folsom contains a translation of *all* the despatches of Cortés now extant. There are some which still remain in manuscript, having never been printed.

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the chronicles of Gomara and of Bernal Diaz, men resembling each other as little as any two authors who have ever written on the same subject. Gomara was a churchman and a scholar. He became the chaplain of Cortés, upon his return to Spain, after the Conquest, and, after his death, continued in the service of his son. The simple elegance of his style, and the skill with which he arranged his materials, have made his work extensively and permanently popular. His information was derived from the highest sources,—from Cortés himself, and from the other leading actors in the scenes he records. His position in the family of Cortés, however, while it afforded him such advantages in the accumulation of facts, naturally gave him a bias in favor of his patron, which is very perceptible in his work, and which has impaired its value as an authentic history. To the faults of Cortés he is more than a little blind, and to his virtues he is very kind. But we must not judge him too severely. Sturdy independence is a quality for which the chaplains of great men have not, in any age, been famous. The humble and dependent ecclesiastic must have been a man of superhuman virtue to write with strict impartiality the life of his "honored patron," (to borrow a phrase of poor Peter Pattieson,) to whom he had been so long indebted for protection and for bread. A man of letters does not flourish well in a great man's shadow.

Bernal Diaz is a writer of quite a different stamp. He was a rough soldier, as little accustomed to the pen as Gomara was to the pike or arquebuse. He was one of those hardy adventurers who left the Old World to seek their fortunes in the New. After various toilsome and perilous enterprises, he enlisted under the banners of Cortés, and remained with him till the close of the Conquest. He was engaged in more than a hundred battles and rencontres, in no one of which did an enemy ever see his back. He was as faithful to his commander as he was brave, and was honored by him with various offices of trust and responsibility. In his old age, nearly half a century after the Conquest, we find him established as *regidor* of the city of Guatemala, having survived his general and nearly all his companions in arms. Here he was doubtless allowed the privileges of an old campaigner; to tell stories of the Conquest, as interminable as those of Dugald Dalgetty about the "Lion of the North";

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and to rail in good set terms at the caprice of fortune, which, after all his toils and dangers, had not recompensed him with either wealth or honors. He wrote his chronicle when very old. He was induced to write by a wish to vindicate to himself and his companions their share in the renown of the Conquest, which was likely to be absorbed by the great reputation of their leader; and he was further stimulated to continue his narrative by a desire to correct the errors and inaccuracies of Gomara, whose work he did not meet with till he had begun his own. His chronicle is quite a remarkable book, as will appear from Mr. Prescott's own observations upon it.

"Bernal Diaz, the untutored child of nature, is a most true and literal copyist of nature. He transfers the scenes of real life by a sort of *daguerreotype* process, if I may so say, to his pages. He is among chroniclers what De Foe is among novelists. He introduces us into the heart of the camp, we huddle round the bivouac with the soldiers, loiter with them on their wearisome marches, listen to their stories, their murmurs of discontent, their plans of conquest, their hopes, their triumphs, their disappointments. All the picturesque scenes and romantic incidents of the campaign are reflected in his page as in a mirror. The lapse of fifty years has had no power over the spirit of the veteran. The fire of youth glows in every line of his rude history; and, as he calls up the scenes of the past, the remembrance of the brave companions who are gone gives, it may be, a warmer coloring to the picture, than if it had been made at an earlier period. Time, and reflection, and the apprehensions for the future, which might steal over the evening of life, have no power over the settled opinions of his earlier days. He has no misgivings as to the right of conquest, or as to the justice of the severities inflicted on the natives. He is still the soldier of the Cross; and those who fell by his side in the fight were martyrs for the faith. 'Where are now my companions?' he asks; 'they have fallen in battle, or been devoured by the cannibal, or been thrown to fatten the wild beasts in their cages! they whose remains should rather have been gathered under monuments emblazoned with their achievements, which deserve to be commemorated in letters of gold; for they died in the service of God and of his Majesty, and to give light to those who sat in darkness, — *and also to acquire that wealth which most men covet.*' The last motive — thus tardily and incidentally expressed — may be thought by some to furnish a better key than either of the preceding to the conduct of the Conquerors. It is, at all

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events, a specimen of that *naïveté* which gives an irresistible charm to the old chronicler; and which, in spite of himself, unlocks his bosom, as it were, and lays it open to the eye of the reader.

"It may seem extraordinary, that, after so long an interval, the incidents of his campaigns should have been so freshly remembered. But we must consider, that they were of the most strange and romantic character, well fitted to make an impression on a young and susceptible imagination. They had probably been rehearsed by the veteran again and again to his family and friends, until every passage of the war was as familiar to his mind as the 'tale of Troy' to the Greek rhapsodist, or the interminable adventures of Sir Lancelot or Sir Gawain to the Norman minstrel. The throwing of his narrative into the form of chronicle was but repeating it once more.

"The literary merits of the work are of a very humble order; as might be expected from the condition of the writer. He has not even the art to conceal his own vulgar vanity, which breaks out with a truly comic ostentation in every page of the narrative. And yet we should have charity for this, when we find that it is attended with no disposition to depreciate the merits of others, and that its display may be referred in part to the singular simplicity of the man. He honestly confesses his infirmity, though, indeed, to excuse it. 'When my chronicle was finished,' he says, 'I submitted it to two licentiates, who were desirous of reading the story, and for whom I felt all the respect which an ignorant man naturally feels for a scholar. I besought them, at the same time, to make no change or correction in the manuscript, as all there was set down in good faith. When they had read the work, they much commended me for my wonderful memory. The language, they said, was good old Castilian, without any of the flourishes and finicalities so much affected by our fine writers. But they remarked, that it would have been as well, if I had not praised myself and my comrades so liberally, but had left that to others. To this I answered, that it was common for neighbours and kindred to speak kindly of one another; and, if we did not speak well of ourselves, who would? Who else witnessed our exploits and our battles, — unless, indeed, the clouds in the sky, and the birds that were flying over our heads?'

"Notwithstanding the liberal encomiums passed by the licentiates on our author's style, it is of a very homely texture; abounding in colloquial barbarisms, and seasoned occasionally by the piquant sallies of the camp. It has the merit, however, of clearly conveying the writer's thoughts, and is well suited to

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their simple character. His narrative is put together with even less skill than is usual among his craft, and abounds in digressions and repetitions, such as vulgar gossips are apt to use in telling their stories. But it is superfluous to criticize a work by the rules of art, which was written manifestly in total ignorance of those rules; and which, however we may criticize it, will be read and re-read by the scholar and the school-boy, while the compositions of more classic chroniclers sleep undisturbed on their shelves.

"In what, then, lies the charm of the work? In that spirit of truth which pervades it; which shows us situations as they were, and sentiments as they really existed in the heart of the writer. It is this which imparts a living interest to his story; and which is more frequently found in the productions of the untutored penman solely intent upon facts, than in those of the ripe and fastidious scholar occupied with the mode of expressing them.

"It was by a mere chance that this inimitable chronicle was rescued from the oblivion into which so many works of higher pretensions have fallen in the Peninsula. For more than sixty years after its composition, the manuscript lay concealed in the obscurity of a private library, when it was put into the hands of Father Alonso Remon, Chronicler General of the Order of Mercy. He had the sagacity to discover, under its rude exterior, its high value in illustrating the history of the Conquest. He obtained a license for the publication of the work, and under his auspices it appeared at Madrid in 1632, — the edition used in the preparation of these volumes." — Vol. II. pp. 478 – 480.

The above extract is from a part of Mr. Prescott's book which we commend to the particular attention of his readers, some of whom might, but for this timely caution, skip over it in their impatience to follow the course of the narrative, and others be repelled by the finer type in which it is printed. We refer to his admirable biographical sketches, and elaborate criticisms of his principal authorities. These we have found among the most attractive portions of the work. They supply that information, which a reader of any curiosity desires to obtain, respecting the authors whom he finds constantly referred to, and the books which are relied upon as original authorities. Mr. Prescott has evidently prepared them with great care, and, in point of literary merit, they are not inferior to any portion of the text. Some of them, as, for instance, those devoted to Boturini and Sahagun, contain curious

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literary anecdotes ; and others, as those upon Las Casas, Solis, and that upon Bernal Diaz, from which we have just quoted, are written with such taste, elegance, and discrimination, as show Mr. Prescott to be as well qualified to excel in literary biography and criticism as in history. He has also appended to his text a copious array of notes, which are devoted to criticism, to citations for corroborating the text, or to explanations of statements made therein, and which never depart from the legitimate province of notes. As the substance of the text is very frequently repeated in the notes, he has, in such cases, deemed it proper to retain them in the original Spanish. In the second part of the Appendix, will be found a variety of curious original documents. The whole work is aptly terminated by a full and correct Index, without which any book dealing in facts is as defective as a pitcher without a handle, or a town-meeting without a moderator.

We deem it unnecessary to make any detailed observations upon the style in which this work is written, since it has essentially the same qualities as those which throw an unvarying charm over the pages of the history of Ferdinand and Isabella. Mr. Prescott is not a mannerist in his style, and does not deal in elaborate, antithetical, nicely balanced periods. His sentences are not cast in the same artificial mould, nor is there a perpetual recurrence of the same turns of expression, as in the writings of Johnson or Gibbon ; nor have they that satin-like smoothness and gloss, for which Robertson is so remarkable. The dignified simplicity of his style is still further removed from any thing like pertness, smartness, or affectation ; from tawdry gum-flowers of rhetoric, and brass-gilt ornaments ; from those fantastic tricks with language, which bear the same relation to good writing that vaulting and tumbling do to walking. It is perspicuous, flexible, and natural ; sometimes betraying a want of high finish, but always manly, always correct, never feeble, and never inflated. He does not darkly insinuate statements, or leave his reader to infer facts. Indeed, it may be said of his style, that it has no marked character at all. Without ever offending the mind or the ear, it has nothing that attracts observation to it, simply as a style. It is a transparent medium, through which we see the form and movement of the writer's mind. In this respect, we may compare it with the manners

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of a well-bred gentleman, which have nothing so peculiar as to awaken attention, and which, from their very ease and simplicity, enable the essential qualities of the understanding and character to be more clearly discerned.

We have thus endeavoured to express our sense of the merits of Mr. Prescott's work. The reader, who has accompanied us thus far in our remarks, may be inclined to ask, if we have no alloy of censure to mingle with the fine gold of our praise; if our commendation is to be not only ample, but unmeasured. We admit, that we have written our notice in a friendly spirit, and that we took up the book with a prepossession in its favor,— with that wish to be pleased, which is as effectual in securing its object as the wish to please. Unquestionably, the book, like every other work of man's device, affords some scope for the indulgence of a spirit of minute and peevish criticism. To all the views and opinions which it contains, we are not inclined to give an unqualified assent. Upon some of them, we do not feel competent to pronounce a judgment. We have sometimes found a simple statement of a fact, where we should have preferred the addition of an indignant comment. Many of the sentences would have fallen with a richer music upon the ear, with some changes in their structure and rhythm. But in looking upon the work as a whole, and from the proper point of view, every thing else is lost and forgotten in the general blaze of its merits. And, if we do not deceive ourselves, such would have been our judgment, had it been put into our hands as a translation from one of the manuscripts of the Mexican gentleman, so often quoted in its pages, with nine consonants in his name, or dropped down from the clouds upon our table. It is a noble work; judiciously planned, and admirably executed; rich with the spoils of learning easily and gracefully worn; imbued everywhere with a conscientious love of the truth, and controlled by that unerring good sense, without which genius leads astray with its false lights, and learning encumbers with its heavy panoply. It will win the literary voluptuary to its pages by the attractiveness of its subject and the flowing ease of its style; and the historical student will do honor to the extent and variety of the research which it displays, and to the thoroughness with which its investigations have been conducted. We can confidently predict for it an extensive and permanent popularity. It is not destined, after

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the gloss of novelty is worn off, to moulder away in booksellers' garrets, or to sleep, undisturbed, upon their highest shelves. It is not made of those destructible materials, which the stream of time bears off with it in its rapid flow. It will take its place among those enduring productions of the human mind, which age cannot stale, and custom cannot wither.

We cannot take a final leave of this work without a word of commendation upon the manner in which it has been brought out by the publishers. The page is sightly and well proportioned, the types are clear and distinct, and the paper is good. It is printed with singular accuracy. For much of its typographical elegance, and for all of its typographical correctness, it is indebted to the taste, skill, and industry of Messrs. Metcalf, Keith, and Nichols, of Cambridge, printers to the University, at whose foundery the stereotype plates were cast, — a fact, which we are the more particular in mentioning, as we perceive that the usual announcement of it is omitted upon the reverse of the title-page. For the accuracy of the typography, they deserve great credit, as the notes swarm with numeral references, with proper names, and with quotations from foreign languages, particularly with obsolete forms of the Spanish ; and every author knows how difficult it is to insure correctness in such cases. The cause of the omission which we have noticed we are at a loss to conjecture. We would respectfully suggest to the Messrs. Harper, whether it would not be more consonant, — we will not say with generosity, — but with that justice which renders to every man his due, to amend this matter in their next edition. We assure them, in an entirely friendly spirit, that the thing does not look well as it now stands.

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ART. VII. — 1. *The Attaché; or Sam Slick in England.* By the Author of "The Clockmaker, or the Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick," &c. New York: William H. Colyer. 1843. 8vo. pp. 76.

2. *Change for the American Notes: in Letters from London to New York.* By an American Lady. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1843. 8vo. pp. 88.

THE author of "The Attaché," understood to be one of the Nova Scotian judges, has acquired considerable reputation by the humorous sketches he has published under the pseudonym of Sam Slick. These sketches have been widely circulated both in England and America, and have been praised more than they deserve. They show a perception of the ludicrous, and sometimes a talent for witty description. Mr. Slick is designed by the author to be a representative of the common New England character. The keen pursuit of gain, the eagerness for driving a bargain, the resort to trickery and even downright fraud, which have been charged upon the Yankee, are drawn out at great length in the character of Mr. Samuel Slick, the pedler. That very apocryphal personage, the Yankee pedler, with his clocks and wooden nutmegs, is the most common object of the jeers and jokes of our Southern brethren, whose mythical and highly imaginative notions of the men of the North it seems quite impossible to correct. These myths have been taken up, apparently in good faith, by the provincial judge, and, with a still more poetical coloring, drawn from the gentleman's own lively fancy, presented in the person of Mr. Slick. No doubt, there is some foundation for these representations; something approaching a type, by the gross exaggeration of which these distorted and scarcely recognizable images are produced. The New England trader, pedler, or whatever he may be, is, doubtless, sharp at a bargain, and shrewd to turn his opportunities of gain to excellent account; but not more so than the corresponding classes of men elsewhere. Sam Slick is no proper representative of the Yankees. He is badly conceived; his character is an incongruous mixture of impossible eccentricities. His sayings are sometimes not destitute of wit; but his language is a ridiculous compound of provincial solecisms, extravagant figures, vulgarities drawn

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from distant sources, which can never meet in an individual, and a still greater variety of vulgar expressions, which are simply and absolutely the coinage of the provincial writer's own brain. On this point we speak with some confidence. We can distinguish the real from the counterfeit Yankee, at the first sound of the voice, and by the turn of a single sentence; and we have no hesitation in declaring, that Sam Slick is not what he pretends to be; that there is no organic life in him; that he is an impostor, an impossibility, a nonentity.

A writer of genius, even if he write from imperfect knowledge, will, as it were, breathe the breath of life into his creations. Sam Slick is an awkward and highly infelicitous attempt to make a character, by heaping together, without discrimination, selection, arrangement, or taste, every vulgarity that a vulgar imagination can conceive, and every knavery that a man blinded by national and political prejudice can charge upon neighbours whom he dislikes. The true New England character has never yet been portrayed, with a mastery of the subject, in a work of fiction. It has capabilities, both of serious and humorous representation, that a poet, or novelist, familiar with it from his birth, and possessing the shaping power of imagination, might work out with the most striking effect. And in the terse peculiarities of the New England idiom, the grave, far-reaching sense of the Massachusetts farmer, the humorous, sly, and quaint expressions in which his thought is uttered, the delineator of manners, had he the discerning eye, might find the rich elements of varied character, almost wholly new to the world of letters. But the attempt will never be successfully made, until some native writer, of genius to create, and culture to represent, characters with the true national stamp, shall set aside foreign models, outlandish turns of expression, and the conventional manners displayed in novels that exhibit a society wholly unlike our own, in order to study the humors and peculiarities of American life. Mr. Cooper has made some bad attempts at American characters; his creations of this kind are only not quite so unhappy as that of Mr. Slick.

The author of this work is a Tory of the most violent description. A provincial always exaggerates the opinions, manners, and fashions of the parties at home, to whom he would fain assimilate himself. There is something belittling

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in his condition, and in the influences to which he is subjected. He has not the lofty consciousness of belonging to a great nation, — of being, among his fellow-subjects, a peer among equals. He has, on the contrary, an uncomfortable sense of inferiority; he shows an uneasy and restless effort to disguise the character which his birth has stamped ineffaceably upon him, and to assume another, which his allegiance to a distant sovereign prompts him to desire. All his standards of thought, action, manners, and dress are thousands of miles distant. The authorities he must obey are afar off; the rays of sovereignty fall only in feeble reflection upon him. The things he worships are the fancied grandeurs and glories of another hemisphere. But the great nation has affairs enough of its own to attend to at home. It can take but little note of the colonists, except to send them bad governors, and to mismanage their affairs. Hence springs up an irritating sense of neglect, a petty but not unnatural jealousy, like that felt by persons who, not being quite sure of their social position, torment themselves with imaginary, no less than real, grievances from those above them. The mind, under such circumstances, has no free, natural, and beautiful development. Its growth is stunted and distorted; it becomes a sickly plant, and can never bear sound and healthy fruit. In politics, men form their party attachments; but without the moulding and softening influences that work upon them at home, where the great business of administration is carried on, political sentiments are violent and bigoted, and bear the same relation to those of similar appellation in the metropolis, that a travestie bears to the original work it burlesques. Toryism is terribly embittered by distance from the fountain head; and Radicalism puts on a manifold ferocity in remote and unfrequented wilds. The provincial Tory, who visits the mother country, is like a Tory of three hundred years ago returned to life. He finds, that his prejudices and predilections have no counterpart in the actual state of affairs. His views are shockingly antiquated. A pernicious liberalism has insinuated itself into the principles even of the Tory leaders, whom he had looked up to in distant reverence from his remote provincial home. In short, whatever be his affinities or biases, he finds his guides widely different from what he had fondly dreamed. He is in a condition like that of the village belle, who apes the fashions of some great city, and,

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in aping them, overacts the part, adopting all that is absurd and extravagant, and failing to acquire the grace and dignity with which they are worn in the proper circles.

All these remarks apply to the author of "Sam Slick." He must have found himself, while in England, immeasurably behind the age. He seems to have adopted the cast-off dogmas of the Toryism of former centuries; and he was as much misplaced in the England of the nineteenth century, as a contemporary of Rameses the First would have been, had he risen from the mummy-pit, and appeared at the court of the Ptolemies. It seems almost incredible, that a man of ordinary powers of observation and discernment can gravely repeat the antiquated political absurdities, which this writer appears to have treasured in his very soul, as the quintessence of all political wisdom. This is a striking example of what we have hinted at; the belittling effects of the colonial system on the intellects of colonists. A full and complete national existence is requisite to the formation of a manly, intellectual character. What great work of literature or art has the colonial mind ever produced? What free, creative action of genius can take place under the withering sense of inferiority, that a distant dependency of a great empire can never escape from? Any consciousness of nationality, however humble the nation may be, is preferable to the second-hand nationality of a colony of the mightiest empire that ever flourished. The intense national pride, which acts so forcibly in the United States, is something vastly better than the intellectual paralysis that deadens the energies of men in the British American provinces. A character is forming under the republican institutions of the United States, which, though some of its manifestations during the forming period are disagreeable and unpromising, will at least find a free and bold utterance in speech and action; will stamp itself on the literature of the world; will shape itself in the forms of art; will reconstruct the edifice of social life, and play a daring part on the theatre of the age. Its voice is already heard, vindicating to itself a place among the nationalities of the earth. The great minds it has formed are uttering their convictions in words of a fiery eloquence, which almost bring back the triumphs of the Rostrum and the Bema. Is there any thing like this in the British colonies? Can there be any thing like this, while they remain

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colonies ? Who ever heard the name of a poet, or a painter, or a sculptor, or a great statesman, a colonist ?

But to return to the work before us. The lovers of light literature have read the former books, which record the sayings and doings of Sam Slick, and some have been entertained by what they mistook for wit and humor. At any rate, their circulation has been such as to tempt the writer to work the vein still further. How far the blame of this proceeding is to be laid to the long ears of a "discerning public," or to the suggestions of a partially successful author's vanity, we shall not undertake to say ; but thus much is quite certain, that the vein, such as it was, gave out long before the author did ; that all the humor, poor as it was, in the conception of Sam Slick's character, was exhausted long before the end of the first week of his official existence as *Attaché* to the American Legation at the court of St. James. In making out the plot of this work, the author was driven to adopt the most improbable absurdities ; not simple extravagancies, which genius may clothe with originality, and exalt into brilliant conceptions, by its kindling power ; but absurdities unredeemed by ingenuity or novelty, plausibility or wit. The supposition, that a person like Major Jack Downing could have been the intimate friend and adviser of the President of the United States, was an extravagance ; yet the originality and truth of the Major's character, the sagacity of his observations, the felicity and idiomatic point of his language, and the argumentative wit of his illustrations, redeemed the improbability of the first conception, and gave a wide and immediate popularity to his letters, almost unexampled in America. The idea of Sam Slick, the *Attaché*, is evidently borrowed from our friend the Major ; but the improbable part was taken, and all the wit was left behind. Sam Slick, the *quondam* pedler, is represented as appointed to a place on the most important foreign mission, with every possible vulgarity of thought, speech, and action in full blossom. He appears in England, is invited about in English society, associates with the statesmen and noblemen of that proud monarchy, and communicates to our author the results of his observations. All this is violently improbable. It is, in the first place, impossible for any such person, even in our abused and long-suffering democracy, to receive an appointment like that ; and, secondly, if we could get over this im-

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possibility, it would still be impossible for such an individual to obtain any access to the society which he is described as frequenting. Here, then, we have two stubborn impossibilities to start with. But we might pardon even these, if the character of the *Attaché* had been drawn with any truth and liveliness; if his language had been other than coarse and gross, and false to the spirit of the American idioms. But nothing can equal the falsehood and vulgarity of the book, even after we have got over the outrageous extravagance of the main circumstances of the plot, except its incredible dulness. A writer of genius would certainly have the means, in the rich contrasts between the various phases of English life, and between English life as a whole and American life, to present a series of pictures at once amusing and instructive, even though the framework of the story were absurdity itself; and, in some passages, this author has shown feeble glimpses of a power to appreciate the capabilities of the subject. In some parts of Mr. Slick's description of what it is the author's pleasure to make him call a "juicy day," we see faint intimations of a sense of the humorous bearings of the scene. It is clumsily overwrought, and outrages nature and probability; but some of the points are seized, and tolerably managed. The whole chapter is too long for quotation; we can only pick out, here and there, a "juicy" passage. The following passage contains Mr. Slick's meditations on an English rainy day, and a little incident that befel him on his first morning at an English country-house, which he had been invited to visit.

"A wet day is considerable tiresome, anywhere, or any way you can fix it; but it 's wus at an English country house than anywhere else, cause you are among strangers, formal, cold, gallus polite, and as thick in the head-piece as a puncheon. You hante nothin' to do yourself, and they never have nothin' to do; they don't know nothin' about America, and don't want to. Your talk don't interest them, and they can't talk to interest nobody but themselves; all you 've got to do is to pull out your watch and see how time goes; how much of the day is left, and then go to the winder and see how the sky looks, and whether there is any chance of holdin' up or no. Well, that time I went to bed a little airlier than common, for I felt considerable sleepy, and considerable strange, too; so, as soon as I cleverly could, I off and turned in.

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"'Well, I am an airly riser myself; I always was from a boy. So I waked up jist about the time when day ought to break, and was a thinkin' to get up; but the shutters was too, and it was as dark as ink in the room, and I heerd it rainin' away for dear life. 'So,' sais I to myself, 'what the dogs is the use of gettin' up so airly? I can't get out and get a smoke, and I can't do nothin' here; so here goes for a second nap.' Well, I was soon off agin in a most a beautiful of a snore, when all at once I heard a thump, thump agin the shutter, and the most horrid noise I ever heerd since I was raised; it was somethin' quite onairthly.

"'Hallo!' says I to myself, 'what in nature is all this hubbub about? Can this here confounded old house be harnted? Is them spirits that's jabbering gibberish there, or is I wide awake or no?' So I sets right up on my hind legs in bed, rubs my eyes, opens my ears, and listens agin, — when whop went every shutter *agin, with a dead, heavy sound, like somethin' or another thrown* agin 'em, or fallin' agin 'em, and then comes the unknown tongues in discord chorus like. Sais I, 'I know now, it's them cussed navigators. They've besot the house, and are a givin' lip to frighten folks. It's regular banditti.'

"So I jist hops out of bed, and feels for my trunk, and outs with my talkin' irons, that was already loaded, pokes my way to the window, shoves the sash up, and outs with the shutter, ready to let slip among 'em. And what do you think it was? Hundreds and hundreds of them nasty, dirty, filthy, ugly, black devils of rooks, located in the trees at the back eend of the house. Old Nick couldn't have slept near 'em; caw, caw, caw, all mixed up together in one jumble of a sound, like 'jawe.'

"'You black, evil-lookin', foul-mouthed villains,' sais I, 'I'd like no better sport than jist to sit here all this blessed day with these pistols, and drop you one arter another, *I* know.' But they all was pets, was them rooks, and of course, like all pets, everlastin' nuisances to everybody else.

"Well, when a man's in a feeze, there's no more sleep that hitch; so I dresses and sits up. But what was I to do? It was jist half past four, and as it was a rainin' like every thing, I know'd breakfast wouldn't be ready till eleven o'clock, for nobody wouldn't get up, if they could help it, — they wouldn't be such fools; so there was jail for six hours and a half." — p. 11.

Mr. Slick, like other mortals, cannot resist the attractions of English beauty. Hear him a little upon this point.

"Come, I'll try the women folk in the drawin'-room aign. Ladies don't mind the rain here; they are used to it. It's like

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the musk plant, arter you put it to your nose once, you can't smell it a second time. Oh, what beautiful gals they be! What a shame it is to bar a feller out such a day as this. One on 'em blushes like a red cabbage, when she speaks to me; that 's the one, I reckon, I disturbed this mornin'. Cuss the rooks! I'll pyson them, and that wont make no noise.

"She shows me the consarvitery. 'Take care, sir, your coat has caught this geranium,' and she onhitches it. 'Stop, sir, you 'll break this jillyflower,' and she lifts off the coat-tail again; in fact, it 's so crowded, you can't squeeze along scarcely, without a doin' of mischief somewhere or another.

"Next time she goes first, and then it 's my turn. 'Stop, miss,' sais I, 'your frock has this rose tree over,' and I loosens it; once more, 'Miss, this rose has got tangled,' and I ontangles it from her furbeloes.

"I wonder what makes my hand shake so, and my heart it bumps so, it has bust a button off. If I stay in this consarvitery, I shan't consarve myself long, that 's a fact; for this gal has put her whole team on, and is a runnin' me off the road. 'Hullo! what's that? Bell for dressin' for dinner.' Thank Heavens! I shall escape from myself, and from this beautiful critter, too, for I 'm getting spoony, and shall talk silly presently.

"I don't like to be left alone with a gal, it 's plaguy apt to set me a soft-sawderin' and a courtin'. There 's a sort of natteral attraction like in this world. Two ships in a calm are sure to get up alongside of each other, if there 's no wind, and they have nothin' to do but look at each other; natur does it. Well, even the tongs and the shovel won't stand alone long; they 're sure to get on the same side of the fire, and be sociable; one of 'em has a loadstone and draws t'other, that 's sartain. If that 's the case with hard-hearted things, like oak and iron, what is it with tender-hearted things, like humans? Shut me up in a 'sarvitory with a handsome gal of a rainy day, and see if I don't think she is the sweetest flower in it. Yes, I am glad it is the dinner-bell, for I ain't ready to marry yet, and when I am, I guess I must get a gal where I got my hoss, in Old Connecticut, and that State takes the shine off of all creation for geese, gals, and onions, that 's a fact." — p. 14.

The following story, illustrating the meaning of one of Sam's phrases, "t' other eend of the gun," is not ill told.

"'Well, Squire,' said he, 'I am glad, too, you are agoin' to England along with me: we will take a rise out of John Bull, won't we? We 've hit Blue-nose and Brother Jonathan, both, pretty considerably tarnation hard, and John has split his sides

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with larfter. Let 's tickle him now, by feeling his own short ribs, and see how he will like it; we 'll soon see whose hide is the thickest, his'n or ourn, won't we? Let 's see whether he will say chee, chee, chee, when he gets to t'other eend of the gun.'

"'Well, what is the meaning of that saying?' I asked. 'I never heard it before.'

"'Why,' said he, 'when I was considerable of a grown-up saplin' of a boy to Slickville, I used to be a gunnin' for everlastingly a'most in our hickory woods, a shootin' of squirrels with a rifle, and I got amazin' expart at it. I could take the head off of them chatterin'-like imps, when I got a fair shot at 'em with a ball, at any reasonable distance, a'most in nine cases out of ten.

"'Well, one day I was out as usual, and our Irish help, Paddy Burke, was along with me, and every time he see'd me a drawin' off the head fine on 'em, he would say, "Well, you 've an excellent gun entirely, Master Sam. Oh, by Jakers! the squirrel has no chance with that gun; it 's an excellent one entirely."

"'At last, I got tired of hearin' of him a jawin' so for ever and a day about the excellent gun entirely; so, sais I, "You fool you, do you think it 's the gun that does it *entirely*, as you say? ain't there a little dust of skill in it? Do you think you could fetch one down?"

"'"Oh, it 's a capital gun entirely," said he.

"'"Well," said I, "if 't is, try it now, and see what sort of a fist you 'll make of it."

"'So Paddy takes the rifle, lookin' as knowin' all the time as if he had ever see'd one afore. Well, there was a great red squirrel on the tip-top of a limb, chatterin' away like any thing, chee, chee, chee, proper frightened; he know'd it warn't me that was a parsecutin' of him, and he expected he 'd be hurt. They know'd me, did the little critters, when they see'd me, and they know'd I never had hurt one on 'em, — my balls never givin' 'em a chance to feel what was the matter of them; but Pat they didn't know, and they see'd he warn't the man to handle "Old Bull-dog." I used to call my rifle Bull-dog, cause she always bit afore she barked.

"'Pat threw one foot out astarn, like a skullin' oar, and then bent forrads like a hoop, and fetched the rifle slowly up to the line and shot to the right eye. Chee, chee, chee, went the squirrel. He see'd it was wrong. "By the powers!" sais Pat, "this is a left-handed boot," and he brought the gun to the other shoulder, and then shot to his left eye. "Fegs!" sais Pat, "this gun was made for a squint eye, for I can't get a right straight sight of the critter, either side." So I fixt it for him, and

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told him which eye to sight by. "An excellent gun entirely," sais Pat, "but it tante made like the rifles we have."

"'Ain't they strange critters, them Irish, Squire? That fellow never handled a rifle afore in all his born days; but, unless it was to a priest, he wouldn't confess that much for the world. They are as bad as the English that way; they always pretend they know every thing.

"'"Come, Pat," sais I, "blaze away now." Back goes the hind leg again, up bends the back, and Bull-dog rises slowly to his shoulder, and then he stared and stared, until his arm shook like palsy. Chee, chee, chee, went the squirrel again, louder than ever, as much as to say, "Why the plague don't you fire? I 'm not a goin' to stand here all day for you this way," and then, throwin' his tail over his back, he jumped on to the next branch.

"'"By the piper that played before Moses!" sais Pat, "I'll stop your chee, chee, cheein' for you, you chatterin' spalpeen of a devil, you." So he ups with the rifle again, takes a fair aim at him, shuts both eyes, turns his head round, and fires; and "Bull-dog," findin' he didn't know how to hold her tight to the shoulder, got mad, and kicked him head over heels on the broad of his back. Pat got up, a makin' awful wry faces, and began to limp, to show how lame his shoulder was, and to rub his arm, to see if he had one left, and the squirrel ran about the tree hoppin' mad, hollerin' out as loud as it could scream, chee, chee, chee.

"'"Oh, bad luck to you!" says Pat, "if you had a been at t'other eend of the gun," and he rubbed his shoulder agin, and cried like a baby, "you wouldn't have said chee, chee, chee, that way, I know."

"'Now, when your gun, Squire, was a knockin' over Bluenose, and making a proper fool of him, and a knockin' over Jonathan, and a spilin' of his bran-new clothes, the English sung out chee, chee, chee, till all was blue agin. You had an excellent gun entirely then; let 's see if they will sing out chee, chee, chee, now, when we take a shot at *them*. Do you take?' and he laid his thumb on his nose, as if perfectly satisfied with the application of his story. 'Do you take, Squire? you have an excellent gun entirely, as Pat says. It 's what I call putting the leake into 'em properly. If you had a written this book fust, the English would have said your gun was no good; it would'nt have been like the rifles they had seen. Lord, I could tell you stories about the English, that would make even them cryin' devils, the Mississippi crocodiles, laugh, if they was to hear 'em.'" — p. 18.

Mr. Slick, like Mr. Sam Weller, is very fond of these il-

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lustrative stories ; in this respect, he doubtless imitates his illustrious predecessor. But we cannot often award him the praise of a successful imitation. His stories are too long, and very often dull. In the eighth chapter, for example, the attempt at an amusing sketch of Mr. Rufus Dodge's visit to Niagara Falls is too strained to excite any other feeling than a sense of weariness, and a sincere regret, that the author should have cudgelled his brains so hard to so little purpose. The absurdity of the whole representation is so great, that we can only say, "*Incredulus odi*," to every word of it. As to being entertained by such a tasteless and awkward effort to be funny, the coarsest and broadest laugher would read it without the slightest peril to his gravity.

One of the prominent characters in the work is Mr. Hopewell, an aged clergyman of the American Episcopal Church. The author has evidently an affection for this prosy old gentleman, his politics, and his general views of men and things. His lectures to Sam on manners and conversation, on the propriety of using and the impropriety of omitting titles, and his Latin and Greek quotations to that erudite functionary, are truly edifying ; and it is surprising, that Sam, having for many years enjoyed the valuable instructions of the reverend gentleman, should have derived so little benefit from them. In truth, the conception of this character is feeble, and we soon weary of it. Mr. Hopewell's doings and sayings, both on board ship, and after his arrival in England, are not those which a man of ordinary sense would do and say, there or anywhere else. We recognize in the delineation the same infirmity of hand, the same inability to draw and sustain a consistent character, — a character that shall act like a human being, with the motives, feelings, and senses of a human being,— which we have noted in the other personages of the story. The scene in the cottage, described in the eleventh chapter, is quite mawkish and silly ; and nearly as much so is the twelfth chapter, entitled, "Stealing the Hearts of the People," wherein the clergyman is represented as preaching in an English church against all the reforms of the times, and portraying the blessings enjoyed by the poor in that happy country, especially the blessings derived from an Established Church, with such irresistible force and energy, that he convinced William Hodgins, a sturdy radical, of the sin of the Chartist agitation, saved him

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from ruin, and made his wife a happy woman. It requires but the simplest statement, to show the extravagant absurdity of this representation. It needed the exaggerated loyalty, the high wrought Toryism of a provincial, to venture to make it, in the face of the existing evils in the condition of the English poor, the oppressiveness of the English Established Church, and its utter inadequacy to the religious or secular instruction of the body of the people. No Englishman of any party would have risked his character for sanity, by gravely putting forth such unreal mockeries, in this nineteenth century. We take a few paragraphs from one of Mr. Hopewell's numerous discourses, and then leave him, with the single remark, that we do not believe there lives an American clergyman of the Episcopal Church, so disloyal to his country, so insensible to the glory of her great historical names, so stupidly blind to all that is noble in her institutions, and all that she is doing to better the condition of man, as to speak of the American Revolution, and of the men who effected it, as the present author, making Mr. Hopewell his mouthpiece, has the insolence and folly to write, in the extract which follows.

"'And besides, my good friend, I have much to say to you relative to the present condition and future prospects of this great country. I have lived to see a few ambitious lawyers, restless demagogues, and political preachers, and unemployed local officers of provincial regiments, agitate and sever thirteen colonies at one time from the government of England. I have witnessed the struggle. It was a fearful, a bloody, and an unnatural one. My opinions, therefore, are strong, in proportion as my experience is great. I have abstained, on account of their appearing like preconceptions, from saying much to you yet, for I want to see more of this country, and to be certain that I am quite right before I speak.

"'When you return, I will give you my views on some of the great questions of the day. Do n't adopt them; hear them, and compare them with your own. I would have you think for yourself, for I am an old man now, and sometimes I distrust my powers of mind.

"'The state of this country, you, in your situation, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with. It is a very perilous one. Its prosperity, its integrity, nay, its existence as a first-rate power, hangs by a thread, and that thread but little better and stronger than a cotton one. *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

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I look in vain for that constitutional vigor and intellectual power which once ruled the destinies of this great nation.

"'There is an aberration of intellect, and a want of self-possession, here, that alarms me. I say, alarms me; for American as I am by birth, and republican as I am from the force of circumstances, I cannot but regard England with great interest, and with great affection. What a beautiful country! What a noble constitution! What a high-minded, intelligent, and generous people! When the Whigs came into office, the Tories were not a party, they were the people of England. Where and what are they now? Will they ever have a lucid interval, or again recognize the sound of their name? And yet, Sam, doubtful as the prospect of their recovery is, and fearful as the consequences of a continuance of their malady appear to be, one thing is most certain, *a Tory government is the proper government for a monarchy, a suitable one for any country, but it is the only one for England.* I do not mean an ultra one, for I am a moderate man, and all extremes are equally to be avoided; I mean a temperate, but firm one; steady to its friends, just to its enemies, and inflexible to all. When compelled to yield, it should be by the force of reason, and never by the power of agitation. Its measures should be actuated by a sense of what is right, and not what is expedient; for to concede is to recede, — to recede is to evince weakness, — and to betray weakness is to invite attack.'" — p. 75.

We have a word to say upon one more topic connected with this book, and then we shall have done. The reader will remember, that, in a previous work, this writer attempted to ridicule Mr. Everett, who was then Governor of Massachusetts, by describing an imaginary interview with him, and his conversation at some small inn. Like many things in the present work, the description was so overdone, the sentiments and language attributed to Mr. Everett were so unlike reality, that the sketch had not even the poor merit of being amusing. We were struck with surprise, at the time, that a person, whose education and position seemed to give the world assurance of a gentleman, could have descended to this paltry kind of malice; but it passed away with the thousand fooleries of the press, and was speedily forgotten. We should never have recalled that unworthy attempt to lower the character of one whose genius, learning, eloquence, and virtue are the pride of a great country, but that, in the present work, the attempt is more elaborately

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repeated, and in a tone more offensive and ungentlemanly than before. The allusions to the theological profession, which Mr. Everett belonged to and adorned in his youth, and the ridiculous nickname, "Abednego Layman," referring to his change of profession, with various other coarse and malicious hints and innuendoes, make it impossible to doubt, that the intended satire is aimed at the American minister to England; though the grossness of the attack is thinly disguised by setting up a man of straw in the shape of a pretended special minister, and, in another place, by speaking of Mr. Everett by name, in connexion with the imaginary ambassador. We had intended to place this passage before our readers, in order to show them the manner in which this provincial judge deems it decent to write about the United States, and their able minister at the court of St. James; but on a second perusal, we found the satire too contemptible and pointless to deserve quotation.

Passing over the fact, that must stare every reader in the face, that the vulgar buffoonery of the dialogue is unredeemed by a particle of humor or wit, we ask, What sense of justice can exist in the writer, who attempts to bring discredit on any American gentleman, because, in the mutations of life which naturally grow out of the peculiarities of American society, he has seen fit to change his occupation; to leave the clerical profession, and enter upon the more extended theatre of political affairs? In England such a change we suppose is impossible. There, once a clergyman, always a clergyman. But here, where no established church exists, where perfect freedom in matters of religion, as in other matters, is the birthright of every citizen, where the connexion between the clergyman and his society is wholly voluntary, both as to its original formation and its continuance, where men are often driven by necessity to desert the career for which they were educated, and where all careers are open to all, with as few restraints as are compatible with order and the public interests, how unfair to judge of a man's course in this respect by analogies drawn from the artificial and unnatural state of England! The English system must alone have right and reason on its side, or these attempted sneers at the American minister are pointless; and that the English system does enjoy this great preëminence, we suspect it would require even a blinder devotion to prescription and usage, than this writer's, to affirm.

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What shall we say, too, of the honesty of a writer, who does not scruple to speak of American "bad faith in the business of the Boundary question," when he must have known, from documents published to the world when that sentence was penned, from the declarations of the British Ministry to both Houses of Parliament, and from the well-drawn conclusions of the intelligent men of all parties, that the course of the American negotiator was guided by the strictest integrity, as well as by the most enlightened desire to avert the horrors of war between two great kindred nations? An allusion in this spirit to that illustrious man, to whom the world is mainly indebted for the inestimable blessings of the Treaty of Washington, is much worse than unbecoming. Its true nature we shall not attempt to characterize; but the only effect it can have will be to stamp the author as an unjust, prejudiced, and narrow-minded man.

We have taken the trouble to point out some of the defects of this author's works, not because they deserve, for any intrinsic merit, a moment's attention, but because they are pretty widely read in both countries, and are used for the ungenerous purpose of exciting ill-will between them. The other book, whose title is placed at the head of the present article, stands nearly on the same low level as to truth and honesty of purpose. On its very title-page, the author, in effect, abandons all claim to the character of a truth-telling witness. The express object of the work is to retort on England the treatment which America is imagined to have received from Mr. Dickens. Of course, a purpose so one-sided and polemical, and so openly declared, is a warning to the reader not to take the statements of the book in absolute faith. So far, there is a sort of honesty in the proceeding, which is commendable, because the reader, thus forewarned, is not easily deceived. But what sense of literary duty could the writer have had, in adopting a plan which would make partial statements, discolored and perverted facts, rash generalizations of individual instances, hasty conclusions drawn from narrow or ill-understood premises, quite necessary ingredients in the work? It purports to consist of familiar letters, written by an American lady, who had occasion to reside some time in England. Whether this be fact or fiction, we are unable to say. We have heard it asserted, that this American Lady is wholly an imaginary personage;

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and it were better if she were. These letters are not destitute of sprightliness and point; but they are written, for the most part, in an incorrect, careless, slip-shod style, which throws much doubt upon the author's pretensions to the character of a lady. They are loose, rambling, and incoherent; full of gossiping episodes and trivial remarks. Common things, the little incidents of daily life, careless expressions in conversation, the forms and modes of applying charities to the relief of the poor, are studiously made to take an unfavorable construction, on which monstrous generalizations are built, which the author would have us accept as traits of character in the British nation. We reject it all, as in bad taste, bad temper, bad reasoning, and bad writing. The American name needs no such defences or defenders. It is no help to our character, to prove our neighbour worse than ourselves; it is an injury to our character to attempt to disparage our neighbour, and fail in the attempt; for that is calumny.

The wonderful reasoning powers of this author are fairly represented in the following paragraph.

"We saw Prince Albert set forth on horseback. I consider him eminently handsome, and every one speaks of his amiability. A gentleman near us pronounced him the most fortunate youth in existence. 'Yes,' added a minor-theatre-looking personage, 'and he is now, thanks to us, richer than all his tribe.' In England, the first of virtues is wealth. The Americans may struggle as much or more to attain it, but its mere possession is less worshipped with us than in Great Britain." — p. 10.

That is to say, because a "minor-theatre-looking personage" was overheard to remark, that Prince Albert "is now, thanks to us, richer than all his tribe," *therefore*, "in England, the first of virtues is wealth," and "the Americans may struggle as much or more to attain it, but its mere possession is less worshipped with us than in Great Britain." How imperfectly must this letter-writer have remembered the tone of conversation, not among the "minor-theatre" people, but in the most luxurious and refined circles of the commercial cities in the United States, to venture upon a remark like this, — to draw a sweeping conclusion as to national character from the casual exclamation of a fellow in the street! We wish to treat this book with fairness, and

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having stated our objections to it, we commend portions of it to our readers, as evincing a talent for lively and humorous description, and a command of an idiomatic and pleasing epistolary style.

ART. VIII. — *A Catalogue of the Library of Brown University, in Providence, Rhode Island. With an Index of Subjects.* Providence. 1843. 8vo. pp. 560.

WE welcome the indications, which are now crowding upon us from every quarter, that the people of this country are beginning to feel the importance of taking active measures for the establishment and increase of great public libraries. Large collections of books, open for common use, are at once the storehouses and the manufactories of learning and science; they bring together the accumulated fruits of the experience, the research, and the genius of other ages and distant nations, as well as of our own time and land; and they create the taste and furnish the indispensable aids for the prosecution of literary and scientific effort in every department. In great cities, they qualify the exclusive spirit of commercial and professional avocations, and encourage men to steal an hour from the pursuit of gain and devote it to the attempt to satisfy a rational curiosity and to cultivate an elegant taste. Connected with literary and academical institutions, they supply the means and multiply the objects of study, and keep alive that enthusiasm in the cause of letters, without which nothing great or permanent can ever be accomplished. They are necessarily of slow growth, but every year adds to their value and efficiency, and diffuses more widely a sense of the benefits to be derived from them, and a knowledge of the mode of using them to the best advantage.

The cost of books has been much diminished of late years, and the facilities for making large collections of them much increased. The recent improvements in the arts of printing and paper-making, and the great increase in the number of readers and purchasers, enabling the trade to count upon extensive sales, cause new works to be offered

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at very low prices; while the frequent dispersion of private libraries, after the death of the person whose taste and liberality collected them, and, in the Old World, the multiplication of book-fairs and reprints, and the formation of large repositories of old books on sale, place nearly all the old and standard publications within the reach of very moderate means. The judicious use of a few thousand dollars will now furnish the nucleus of a very respectable collection of books.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that public libraries have multiplied, of late, in the United States with considerable rapidity. They are yet small; they do not admit of comparison with the vast accumulations in the great capitals and universities of Europe. But they show, that the public are aware of the importance of such institutions, and that the course of private munificence is already, to some extent, turned in this direction; and they form centres for slow but continued accretions, with a law of progress as sure as that which changes the sapling into an oak. Philadelphia owes to the public spirit and foresight of Dr. Franklin the establishment of a library, which has long been one of the largest in the country, and now contains nearly 50,000 volumes. But its increase has been slow of late years, and we believe there is but small provision made for its regular and continued enlargement. New York has two societies, of quite recent origin, each having a library of more than thirty thousand volumes, and both being in the way of rapid increase. And when the munificent plan which was formed some years since by her wealthiest citizen shall be carried into effect, she will be able to boast of a collection that may well be compared with the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and which, like that noble institution, will immortalize the name of its founder. In Boston, the libraries of the Athenæum and the American Academy are as much distinguished for the choice selection as for the number of the books, and they have the means of regular, if not of rapid growth.

The numerous colleges in this country have their several libraries, of which, considering the urgent necessity, nay, the absolute indispensableness, of large collections of books, for carrying out the proper designs of such institutions, we can only say, that the largest is nothing more than respectable, while by far the greater number of them hardly deserve

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the name. The great obstacle to their increase is the absurd multiplication of academical institutions in this country, by which the stream of public and private munificence, that might be collected into one broad and deep channel, is divided into a thousand petty rills, and lost. We have one hundred and seventy-three colleges, when twenty would better answer the purpose, and ten would not be too few; and there is no cause for wonder, therefore, that the largest college library hardly contains the sixth part of the intellectual wealth which it should possess, in order that the pupils, the instructers, and the *alumni* might do their work to the best advantage.

Our own Harvard has much the largest and best collection of books belonging to any college in the country, and, especially in the department of American history, its stores are unequalled and invaluable. The library already contains about 50,000 volumes, and is on the point of receiving a large increase. The noble bequest of Mr. Gore, and the untiring liberality of the merchants of Boston and the vicinity, have recently placed in the hands of the Corporation a princely sum for the improvement of this library, the right arm of the institution to which it belongs. But it must ever be a cause of regret with the friends of the college, that, of the large sum thus obtained, more than $73,000 were devoted to the erection of a building, and only about $21,000 to the purchase of books. If the money had been equally divided between the two purposes, it might have been said, that the interests of science and letters, and the increase of the reputation, influence, and active usefulness of the college by doubling the number of volumes on its shelves, were considered as objects of at least equal importance with the construction even of the best specimen of American Gothic architecture. The three essential points to be considered in the erection of an edifice for a public library, whether attached to a college or not, are convenience, security, and ample room for the books. When these ends are obtained, to expend a single dollar for the mere purpose of ornament is to rob the immortal mind for the sake of pampering the senses, — to gratify an ostentatious spirit at the expense of the higher interests of humanity. And when the want of large collections of books is as pressing as it now is in this country, such an application of the funds designed to supply

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this want appears almost like a mockery. It is like putting a fine coat on the back of a starving man, instead of giving him a dinner.

Yale College has a library about one third smaller than that of Harvard, and is now constructing an edifice for it, at the estimated cost of only $30,000, which will contain all the books at present belonging to it, and leave space for a large increase in future years. The library of Brown University is comparatively small; but a wise discrimination has been shown in the use of the means provided for its enlargement. In 1831, measures were taken to raise by subscription the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, to be applied to "the purchase of books for the library, and apparatus for the philosophical and chemical departments." The whole amount was to be invested as a permanent fund, and the interest was to be devoted exclusively to the objects above mentioned. More than $19,000 were obtained by this effort, of which Mr. Nicholas Brown, of Providence, the constant and munificent friend of the college, subscribed $10,000. The sum thus obtained was placed at interest till it had increased to twenty-five thousand dollars, and was then invested as a permanent fund. The first dividend from it, applicable to the purchase of books and apparatus, became due in 1839, since which time the proceeds have been regularly appropriated according to the provisions of the subscription. The room formerly devoted to the use of the library being too small, as well as unsightly and inconvenient, Mr. Brown erected a building, at his own expense, the second story of which is used as the college chapel, while the ground floor is appropriated for the books, and will contain thirty thousand volumes. The cost of this edifice was a little less than $30,000, and if the whole building were devoted to the use of the library, it would contain at least eighty thousand volumes.

A catalogue of the books in this library, by Mr. Charles C. Jewett, the librarian, is now before us, and deserves notice, as one of the most skilfully prepared and beautifully executed works of its class. The arrangement is such, that one can easily find a particular work of which he is in search, and can ascertain at a glance what books are contained in the collection relating to a given subject, or belonging to the particular department of science or letters, in regard to which

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he is looking for information and assistance. The volume consists of two parts, the first being a descriptive catalogue, in which the titles are given at length, and arranged alphabetically, according to the names of the authors, or, when these are unknown, according to the principal word in the title; the second is an alphabetical index of subjects, the works being grouped together according to the natural relations of the matters of which they treat. The plan is, in most respects, like that of the Signet Library Catalogue, of Edinburgh, which was copied, with some improvements, by Mr. O. A. Taylor, when he prepared a catalogue of the library of the Theological Seminary at Andover. It has all the advantages of the more elaborate and apparently more scientific scheme of a systematic index, and it avoids some of the many difficulties, by which a full and regular execution of this scheme, consistent in all its parts, must always be impeded. To say nothing of the fact, that it requires a complete solution of that most comprehensive and difficult problem, on which the genius of Bacon and D'Alembert labored in vain, — a scientific classification of all the branches of human knowledge, — there are minor impediments to the successful performance of the work, and many little inconveniences in the use of it, when completed, which become serious in the aggregate, especially when the catalogue is of great extent. Many works of a miscellaneous character, like awkward soldiers on drill, cannot find their proper place in the ranks. It is even doubtful, at times, whether they belong to the infantry, the dragoons, or the artillery, for they seem to wear a portion of the accoutrements of all three. A due regard to method, also, sometimes requires the classification to be carried so far, that a person consulting the work is often rather perplexed than aided by the number of divisions and subdivisions, of orders, *genera*, and species, under which the books are arranged. Every good distribution into classes depends on some one leading idea, guided by their relation to which the different subjects follow in appropriate groups. But the leading idea in the mind of the inquirer may not be the one in regard to which the catalogue is arranged. The system in the index depends on a general scheme of human knowledge, and, therefore, strictly speaking, is directly adapted to the wants only of the general student, who is equally interested in all branches of inquiry.

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But a theologian would prefer an arrangement based on the particular relations of man to the Deity. The student of natural history would adopt one depending on the scientific relations of all external objects to each other. And both theology and natural history having a connexion, more or less remote, with every other department of knowledge, it is obvious, that the student of each may have occasion to consult works in every department of the catalogue, and will experience some difficulty in doing this, if the leading idea in his science is not made the basis of the index.

We think, therefore, that Mr. Jewett has done wisely in adopting the alphabetical arrangement both for the descriptive catalogue and the index of subjects. It is true, that the order of the alphabet does not seem a very scientific one; but in this instance, as in many others, it happens, that the system which has the least appearance of science is the most convenient for use. We do not say, that the plan would have been equally satisfactory, if the collection of books had been a very numerous one. The library of Brown University contains but little more than ten thousand volumes, and might be consulted with ease and convenience by the aid of a catalogue compiled with less care and method than are shown in the present work. The author of it certainly did not suffer from "the embarrassment of riches." When, as in the great libraries of Europe, through far-reaching halls and almost countless alcoves, the shelves bend beneath the weight of the accumulated wisdom of other ages and foreign nations, the inquirer, who is suddenly introduced into the labyrinthic treasure-house of learning, needs a skilful guide, or he will feel as perplexed and helpless as if he were travelling alone, and without a compass, through one of our interminable Western forests. But few of the public libraries in the United States, it must be confessed, present any difficulties of this sort; the student can find his way through them as easily as through a clump of trees in a pasture.

Mr. Jewett has been able to add one feature to this catalogue, which is not usually found in books of the same class, and which, indeed, cannot be given when they relate to libraries of great extent, without swelling the work to very inconvenient dimensions. He has given short biographical notices of authors, when it became necessary to distinguish between two of the same name; and has appended such

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notices to most of the titles of the ancient classics, and of many American productions. He has also occasionally added bibliographical notes, which evince much care, research, and discretion. On the whole, he has produced a valuable book, and we only regret, that his eminent qualifications for the task were not tested by the preparation of one of much greater extent.

We learn from the Preface to this volume, that the library is the fruit, almost entirely, of the liberality of private individuals. The appropriations from the general funds of the college have necessarily been few and scanty ; and though similar institutions in the other States have usually been fed at least by a slender rill of legislative patronage, the only college library in Rhode Island has not received a drop from this source. We cannot but hope, now that the internal troubles of that State are quieted, and her finances are in excellent condition, that she will think generously of the claims of an institution which has done so much for the advancement of education, and for the dissemination of sound principles throughout her boundaries. Liberality in such a cause is discreet and far-sighted economy.

A collection of books made up almost exclusively from private benefactions, accumulating during a long period of years, cannot be so valuable as one of even quite inferior size, obtained by the direct expenditure of a considerable sum at one time, with a due regard to the selection of the works which are most needed. Individuals give a number of volumes to a college, or bequeath their whole collection to it, and in this way it may obtain a few rare and valuable works. But very many of the books thus obtained, having been originally brought together by chance or private caprice, merely cumber the shelves of a public institution with useless matter. A library thus formed is very heterogeneous in its character, and unequal in the various departments of science and letters. Thus, in the catalogue now before us, we find the names of quite a number of Welsh books, and of works relating to the Welsh language and literature, while there is hardly a title belonging to the modern literature of France and Germany. The library contains a collection of Welsh poems by one Ap Robert, which are, doubtless, very beautiful, though unfortunately we never heard of them before ; and though Brown University has a *corps* of very

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learned professors, we are sadly afraid that not one of them is able to read a line of the "Dau Gywydd." On the other hand, it does not possess a single work, in the original, either of Corneille or Racine, of Goethe or Schiller. It may have a few rare books, which would be considered valuable by a bibliomaniac, or in one of the great European repositories; but the factitious value of these only mocks the poverty of the other departments of the collection. In this respect, the library is in the same state as the horse of the spendthrift, who, having exhausted his credit with the grain merchant, but not with the pastry cook, ordered the animal to be fed on cheesecakes and custards.

Such considerations as these show the futility of the excuse commonly offered by legislators for their ill-timed parsimony towards the higher seminaries of learning. They say, that the library already contains more books than any one man can read; as if it were any consolation for an inquirer who is in great need of a particular work to be offered another, however rare or valuable, which he does not want. Let the legislature of Rhode Island think of these things, and then strive to imitate the noble liberality of her private citizens towards an institution which has already done, and is doing, so much for the honor of the State.

With a commendable feeling of gratitude for the exertions of these early friends of the college, Mr. Jewett has inserted, in the Preface to his work, such information as he could obtain respecting their lives, characters, and the amount of their gifts. The list is not a long one, and the particulars are scanty; but it is well that they are preserved, for they illustrate the manner in which colleges have been generally formed and their libraries collected in this country. Most of the information was derived from the records of the college, and from the recollections of a few aged persons, who were the friends of the institution in its early days.

Brown University was incorporated in 1764, and bore the name of the "Rhode Island College" till 1804, when its present appellation was given to it, in honor of its most distinguished benefactor, Mr. Nicholas Brown. This gentleman, an eminent and successful merchant in Providence, R. I., began his benefactions to the institution in 1792, by presenting to it a law library of three hundred and fifty volumes, which he had imported for the purpose. In 1804,

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he contributed $ 5,000 towards the foundation of a professorship of oratory and *belles lettres;* and in 1815, he gave $ 500 for the purchase of books. In 1823, he erected at his own expense the second college building, commonly known as "Hope College." At the same time, he requested the Faculty to order, at the joint expense of himself and his brother-in-law, Mr. T. P. Ives, such a suit of apparatus, in all the departments of experimental science, as the wants of the university seemed to require. In 1831, as we have already mentioned, he contributed $ 10,000 towards the fund for the purchase of books, and built at his own expense a handsome edifice for a library and chapel, which was called "Manning Hall." In 1839, he tendered to the Corporation, for the purpose of erecting a house for the President, and another edifice for the accommodation of the departments of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Natural History, three valuable lots of land as sites for these buildings, and ten thousand dollars. He died in September, 1841, in the seventy-third year of his age, having made to the college several bequests of land and other property. Seldom has an individual more richly earned the honor of having his name preserved and cherished in all coming time, as a benefactor to the cause of education and letters in this country.

The first appropriation for the library from the general funds of the college was made in 1768, when Mr. Edwards, the agent of the institution, then in England, was authorized to expend twenty pounds for this purpose; and he probably received many donations in books. An attempt was made, about the year 1783, to increase the collection, and a considerable sum was subscribed, of which Mr. John Brown, the uncle of Mr. Nicholas Brown, contributed one half. The Bristol Education Society in England, in 1784, made a valuable donation, containing the works of several of the Fathers of the Church; and, in the same year, the sum of £ 350 was appropriated by the Corporation for the purchase of books. The next considerable gift was made by the Rev. Isaac Backus, of Massachusetts, the author of a "Church History of New England," who died in 1806, and bequeathed to the college a part of his library. Among the books thus received was a copy of Roger Williams's "Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody," published in London, in 1652. On a blank leaf, it contains these words,

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in the hand-writing of Roger Williams : " For his honored and beloved Mr. John Clarke, an eminent Witnes of Christ Jesus ag'st ye bloodie doctrine of persecution, etc." The Rev. William Richards, of Lynn, England, author of a history of that town, and of a Welsh and English dictionary, died in 1818, and bequeathed to the college his whole library, containing about thirteen hundred volumes. Among them was a considerable number of Welsh books, in regard to which we can only say, that it had been well, if the donor could have bequeathed to the college along with them a knowledge of the language in which they were written. By the exertions of the gentleman who was librarian to the institution in 1825, the friends of the college were induced to subscribe $ 840, which sum was expended in buying books. More recent donations, though considerable in amount, we have not room here to notice.

Of the general character of the library Mr. Jewett remarks, that " it is, as might be supposed from the manner in which it has been collected, very miscellaneous. Obvious deficiencies in nearly every department remain to be supplied. But there will be found upon the shelves some books extremely rare, even in Europe, while the great proportion of them are valuable. Perhaps no library of its size in the country contains so good a collection of books pertaining to the history and literature of the English Dissenters."

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *A Course of Lectures on the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the United States, delivered annually in Columbia College, N. Y.* By William Alexander Duer, LL. D., late President of that Institution. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1843. 18mo. pp. 407.

The want of a good elementary work on the character and nature of our governmernt has been long felt in our seminaries of learning, and the effects of this deficiency have been too fatally visited upon the country by the untaught statesmen, to whose guidance it has committed its most important interests.

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Indeed, it is singular, that no successful efforts have yet been made to supply so urgent a want. In religion, morals, and the sciences, — in short, in all that is required to enable our youth to perform their duties towards God, their neighbours, and themselves, there is no deficiency of teachers, or of elementary works. The divine, the physician, and the lawyer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant, all have their schools and their books; but the elector and the representative, in one of which characters all men in this country must appear, and the other may often be forced upon them, are deemed unworthy of attention, and people are left to acquire the knowledge necessary for the right performance of these high public duties, either from the promptings of inspiration, or from heated and often ignorant partisans, intrusted with a public press, and only fitted to illustrate the Scriptural proverb of "the blind leading the blind." This striking deficiency in our systems of education is to be attributed to a too faithful adherence to the modes of education prevalent in the Old World. There is, however, so manifest a difference in the structure of society, and in the duties which its members are compelled to perform, in Europe, and in the United States, that it seems very remarkable, in the establishment of our schools and colleges, that no provision was made for teaching American children the character of those political institutions which were so soon to be intrusted to their control.

In the Old World, no such provision was required. Government is there deemed too high a concern for the subject. The very term by which he is characterized indicates, that his duty is merely to obey. The mass of the community is not entitled to interfere with the government; and, in most countries, not even to criticise its administration. Even in England, at a period not very remote, instances were not unfrequent of persons being capitally punished for commenting too freely upon the course of the government. In 1663, John Twyn was executed for a political libel; and in 1693, William Anderson met with the same fate. On the continent, still less license was allowed, the liberty of speech upon political topics having been entirely taken away. At the present time, it is true, greater freedom is permitted; but it is also true, that the system of education from which our own is derived was formed during the period when all political discussion was regarded as dangerous to the tranquillity and well-being of society. The professorships, the modes of teaching, and the objects of study were all established under such influences, and took their character, in a great degree, from the governments that founded the seminaries of learning.

There is not, therefore, much cause for wonder, that no pro-

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vision was made in Europe for teaching men their political duties, and that, in establishing, or rather in continuing, the ancient system of education in this country, no adequate provision was made for qualifying Americans to perform the new duties imposed upon them by their political institutions. When there was so much to be done in relation to immediate difficulties, it is not surprising, that those which were only to affect future generations were temporarily overlooked. To this cause may fairly be attributed the want of adequate provision for the political education of the people of this country.

We do not here speak of that superficial knowledge, which most of our citizens have, of the constitution and history of their native land. Superficial as this is, it is so much greater and more accurate than what the mass of the community in other countries possess, that we are apt to deceive ourselves, and to believe that we are well informed on all political topics. Most *native* American citizens have some knowledge of the respective parties which divide the country, and of the questions at issue between them; but in well grounded and accurate information respecting the character of their political institutions, and the extent and limits of the various departments among which the powers of the government are divided, they are greatly deficient. They have not the knowledge of details, both of the provisions and principles of the Constitution, and of the interests of the community, which should be found in those who are required to judge of the conduct of persons intrusted with power, and upon whose decision the public policy and the administration of the government entirely depend. To their judgment all disputed questions are referred; to their deliberate decision all other powers in the state must bow. How necessary, then, is it, that the mass of the people here should have an intimate acquaintance with their political institutions and public interests, which would be deemed needless and even burdensome elsewhere! A deficiency in this respect would expose them to errors and misfortunes, which many years might not suffice to correct and repair. To illustrate this position by a reference to our own short history would be trespassing upon the forbidden field of party politics; but it would be needlessly debarring ourselves from apposite allusions, not to notice the fact, that, in those States of the Union where political intelligence has been generally diffused, a policy consistent with the true interests of the people and with the character of free institutions has been pursued; while in those States where education is limited to the few, or where there has been a great influx of foreigners, the policy has been more fluctuating, and less regard has been paid to those sound principles

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of ethics and law, upon which the stability of all governments must depend.

No greater service, then, can be rendered to the country, no task more honorable, or attended with more lasting results to future generations, can be performed, than to make the rising generation well acquainted with the character of the government and the interests which it was instituted to promote, and in a fitting manner to supply the deficiency, to which we have alluded, in the prevailing system of education. This has been attempted by the worthy descendant, on the paternal side, of one of the active leaders in the civil councils of the Revolution,* and, on the maternal side, of one of the associates of Washington,† who contributed by military skill and valor to carry out in the field the resolutions of the patriotic statesmen who formed the Continental Congress. President Duer was peculiarly well qualified for the performance of this task. Educated to the legal profession, and for several years a circuit judge in the State of New York, he had obtained a practical acquaintance with the Federal and State Constitutions, and their mutual relations. Called from the bench to preside over Columbia College, he at once perceived the defect in the system of education, pursued there as well as in the other seminaries of learning, and in these Lectures he undertook to supply that defect.

The first six lectures are devoted to an examination of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the distribution of the powers of the government among the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and the organization of the latter department under the Federal Constitution. In the seventh and eighth lectures, an inquiry is made into the powers of the national government to provide security against danger from abroad, and to regulate intercourse with foreign powers. The ninth lecture sets forth the powers vested in the Federal administration for maintaining tranquillity and a proper intercourse among the States; and the tenth contains a review of its powers relative to other objects of general utility. The two remaining lectures are devoted to the constitutional restrictions upon the powers of the States, and to the provisions to give efficacy to the powers vested in the national government.

In these Lectures, it is obvious, that most of the topics connected with the political history of the country were necessarily

* William Duer, a member from New York in 1777, and in the subsequent Congresses, who was characterized by John Adams, a good judge, "as a man of sense, spirit, and activity, and exceeded by no man in zeal."

† Sir William Alexander, better known as Lord Sterling.

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brought under examination; and it is a cause of great congratulation, that they have in this volume found so able and impartial a commentator as President Duer. We cannot but hope, that the work will become a class-book for the rising generation.

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2. — *The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, with Notes.* By J. T. Champlin, Professor of Greek and Latin in Waterville College. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1843. 12mo. pp. 206.

A better edition of the Oration on the Crown than that of Mr. Negris — the only one accessible to the American student until lately — has been imperatively needed. The text of that edition is imperfect, and the notes are scanty, and frequently very incorrect. The political antiquities of Greece were but imperfectly understood by the editor, and his explanations on points relating to these subjects are often shallow and unsatisfactory.

On many accounts, this oration is the most valuable and interesting among all the remains of Attic eloquence. The time of its delivery, the events which gave occasion to the prosecution, the political situation of Greece after the battle of Chæronea, and the characters and position of the parties, conspire to render that great conflict of eloquence the most memorable in history. Demosthenes had long been the leader of the anti-Macedonian party. All his powers of mind, and his indomitable physical energies, had for years been incessantly exercised, in journeys from one end of Greece to the other, in numberless harangues, and in the transaction of every kind of public business. In this eager and earnest career of political action, he was of necessity brought into violent collision with the powerful party who were in the interest of Philip, and afterwards of Alexander. Political animosities, exceeding modern party hostilities in bitterness, necessarily sprang from this state of things; and the constitution of Athens gave many opportunities to opposing statesmen to annoy each other, and to wreak their vengeance under the sanction of legal forms. Demosthenes and Æschines had already measured their strength repeatedly in wielding these weapons; but the occasion of the Oration on the Crown brought the enmities and quarrels of many years to a head. Æschines had prosecuted Ctesiphon, who was a warm partisan of Demosthenes, for a violation of the constitution, in proposing to confer a crown upon the great orator for certain

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specific services, and for the unwavering fidelity and patriotism which his whole political course had manifested. It was evident, that a proposition of this kind must be resisted, or the opposite party, by their silence, would be understood as admitting, that their own political conduct had been entirely wrong. It behooved them to put forward their strongest men, and to make their mightiest efforts, in a last struggle between the two sets of political principles. Æschines had every motive of private hostility and public opposition, to urge him to strain his powers to their highest tension. He did his best. On comparing his oration against Ctesiphon with his other pieces, we are struck by its great superiority. In strength and vehemence of language, in the skill with which facts are marshalled so as to bear down upon an adversary, in keenness of invective, and acuteness of argument, Æschines outdid himself, and only fell below his great antagonist. He has been sometimes blamed for dwelling at such great length upon the general political conduct of Demosthenes, instead of confining himself more closely to the illegality of Ctesiphon's proceeding, in the circumstances of the particular case; and he has been charged with a want of skill, in making his argument rest entirely on what, as it is said, he must have known to be the weak side of his own case, and the strong one of that of Demosthenes. But such critics misapprehend the great political issue then and there to be decided. Doubtless, Æschines felt the difficulty, and knew that he was treading on dangerous ground; but he knew that it would be still more dangerous to leave this ground, because that would have been confessing, in the face of all Greece, the political virtue of the Demosthenian party, and the political profligacy of his own. He must, therefore, gallantly join issue on the ground of general political merit, and try the chances of battle, rather than retreat without a struggle. Looking, therefore, upon Æschines as the representative of the party politically opposed to Demosthenes, and without reference to the actual merits of the cause, we say, that the course he adopted was the only judicious one. In his attack, he reviews the public life of Demosthenes for many years; and it must be admitted, that he shows, in doing it, masterly ability.

This course of the prosecution opened a wide field for Demosthenes, in his reply. He, too, reviews the whole course of his public life; and in explaining and vindicating his actions, he appeals with marvellous power to the elevated principles of patriotism and morality, to that lofty civic virtue, which it became the statesman of so magnanimous and illustrious a commonwealth as Athens to make the guide of his political con-

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duct. This immense advantage, which Demosthenes had over his adversary, was inevitable, springing from the very nature of the long controversy, of which this trial was but the crisis. Demosthenes was a statesman of a much higher moral character than his opponent. He was able to show, that the policy he had invariably recommended was noble, and worthy of the high position his country had assumed and maintained; the results of his policy were in the hands of the gods.

But it is not our purpose at present to analyze this oration any further than is necessary to point out what is required in a good critical edition. The ground covered by this great state trial is very wide. It extends over many years of the most eventful period in the history of the Greek Republics. It abounds, therefore, in historical allusions, not circumstantially, but incidentally introduced. The trial was conducted under the technical forms, prescribed by the constitution of Athens. The oration, therefore, contains a vast number of juridical terms, of course, readily understood by the court to whom they were addressed, but requiring explanation for the modern student. Documents are cited, and dates given, from the public records; and, to understand their bearing, it is necessary to understand the forms in which legal documents were drawn up, and the principles of the Athenian calendar. Information on all these points, besides the critical and grammatical annotations, it is the duty of the editor to supply. He must furnish a careful commentary upon the laws and constitution, the judicial system especially, and the history, of Athens during the political career of Demosthenes.

These conditions have been ably fulfilled by the present editor. The text he has presented is a great improvement upon that of Mr. Negris. It is fairly printed, and on good paper; the only fault to be found with this part of the work is a number of typographical errors in that portion of the text which accidentally was deprived of the benefit of the editor's revision. A well written preface explains the editor's plan, and states the sources from which he has drawn his chief materials. This is followed by a copious analysis, embracing a general sketch of the plan of the oration, and then a careful enumeration of the topics, paragraph by paragraph, as they are successively handled by the orator. This analysis is carefully and accurately executed, and will be of material advantage to the student, for understanding the orator's arrangement. The text is followed by a body of notes, containing ample explanations of legal terms and technical formulas, historical facts comprehended in the political life of the orator, and careful analyses of the difficult passages. The best authorities have been freely consulted, and the infor-

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mation they contain judiciously combined. Hermann's excellent Manual of Political Antiquities, and Thirlwall's learned and impartial History of Greece, have been constantly used. We approve the plan of this edition, and think the execution of it faithful and able. The work is a valuable addition to the series of classical books published in the United States. We do not always agree with the editor's explanations, because, probably, there are many things in the oration on which no two scholars will think perfectly alike; but in all cases, he makes us feel, that he has brought a strong mind, an acute analysis, and various knowledge to bear upon the difficult questions he discusses. The appearance of this book is another gratifying proof of the increasing attention paid to classical studies in the United States.

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3. — *Proceedings and Debates in the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, during the Four Days previous to the Election of a Speaker, in January, 1843; compiled from the several Reports of the same, revised, corrected, and enlarged, and preceded by an Introduction*, by Luther S. Cushing, Clerk of the House of Representatives. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 84.

This valuable pamphlet relates to an unprecedented and curious passage of parliamentary history. On the 4th day of January, 1843, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts came together, consisting of three hundred and fifty members, or thereabouts. No Governor had been chosen by the people, and only twenty-four members of a Senate which constitutionally must consist of forty. The House was, in due time, to go into convention with the members already elected to the Senate, and by joint ballot to fill the vacancies in that body, thereby determining its political character. This done, the House was to select two out of four names of candidates having the highest number of votes for Governor, and send them up to the Senate for its determination between the two.

All this, however, was to wait for the organization of the House by the election of a Speaker, which, accordingly, became a matter of the strongest interest, both as affording a test of the strength of parties, and as giving to the successful side an advantage in respect to further proceedings. The oldest member on the Boston seat having, agreeably to usage, called the Representatives elect to order, and the Governor having come in with

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the Council and qualified them by administering the oaths, the House proceeded to the choice of a Clerk, and, by 176 ballots against 173, elected Mr. Cushing, who had served in that office with universal approbation for several years. What would the 173 members of that minority have had? What satisfactory or peaceable result could they have promised themselves from elevating to the place of temporary presiding officer over an assembly, which, in its transition state, had no Rules and Orders for its government, a person utterly incompetent, in point of experience, for such a formidable responsibility, to the exclusion of one of the very few men who with any reason could have been relied upon as being equal to the occasion?

On the first balloting for Speaker, 173 votes were cast for the candidate of each of the two great parties, and 3 for a candidate of the third (or *Liberty*) party. No choice being effected, a second balloting was ordered, which was attended with no better success; 175 votes being given to one candidate, 174 to another, and 2 to the third. On the third balloting, 350 votes were equally divided between the two leading names, and a fourth trial was ordered.

It was understood, that an individual had been voting, who had taken his place without being provided with the *primâ facie* evidence of election, namely, a certificate from the magistrates of his town. If his vote were disallowed, a Speaker had been chosen at the last trial. Accordingly, an order was now moved, "That Thomas Nash, junior, claiming a seat in this House as a representative from the town of Whately, be requested to state whether he voted at the election of Speaker at the last ballot." But Thomas Nash, junior, was disposed to state no such thing, nor his party to allow him to do so.

Accordingly, the motion was contested with a skilful and vehement display of parliamentary tactics on both sides. On the one part, it was urged, that the motion was out of order, unless the House should first reconsider its vote to proceed forthwith to another balloting; on the other, it was argued, that the question was one of privilege, which must of course take precedence of all other business. A motion "to lay the whole subject on the table," being debatable, like any other, in the present posture of the House, led to a discursive debate on the merits of the case, which occupied the rest of the day, and the House adjourned at half past five o'clock, without taking the question. In the course of the discussion, was produced a copy of the record of the town meeting at Whately, under which, in default of better evidence, the seat was claimed. From this record it appeared, that the present claimant had received 118 votes, another person

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117, and two others, one vote each. Whether these two were legal votes, appeared to be the question on which would ultimately be determined the legality of the election. But the House could not investigate a question respecting a claim to a seat, till it should have a Committee on Elections; and no Committee on Elections could it have, until it had a Speaker. The question now demanding its decision was, whether a gentleman of leisure, not possessed of the legal *primâ facie* evidence of election to a seat, might step into the House, and assist it with his vote in organizing itself and the government.

The next day, the motion "to lay the whole subject on the table" being still under consideration, the debate was protracted into the afternoon, the leading topics being still the necessity of insisting on the legal *primâ facie* evidence of membership, in order to an organization of the House, and the circumstances of the particular case now in hand. The question being put, the monitor of the division in which Mr. Nash had taken his seat, gave in a double return, according as it would stand including or omitting the vote of that gentleman; and the clerk announced, that, "According to the return of the House, there were 173 votes in the affirmative, if the vote of the gentleman from Whately were counted, 172, if it were not counted, and 172 votes in the negative. Before the vote could be declared, therefore, it would be necessary for the House to decide, whether the gentleman from Whately should be counted or not." A motion was made to disallow the vote, and it was ordered, after some opposition from the claimant's friends, that the question on this motion, when taken, should be taken by yeas and nays, from a list to be furnished by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, of persons who had subscribed the oaths; and, in order to give time for the preparation of such a list, the House adjourned at half past five o'clock.

On Friday, the motion to disallow the vote of Mr. Nash was voted upon by yeas and nays, and was found to be carried by 177 votes against 175, that gentleman voting in the negative. This point settled, the vote of the previous day, upon the motion to lay on the table, was declared by the clerk to stand 172 against 172. Accordingly, that motion had not prevailed, and the question recurred on the point of order respecting the competency of the House, without first reconsidering its vote to proceed to a fourth trial, to entertain the motion for an inquiry of Mr. Nash, whether he had voted in the third balloting for Speaker. The mover of the Order for that inquiry hereupon withdrew his motion, at the request of one of his friends, who moved in its place the adoption of a Preamble and Resolve, declaring that,

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the vote of Mr. Nash having been determined to be illegal, the candidate for the Speaker's chair, against whom his vote had been thrown at the third balloting, had been duly elected. The same point of order as before was raised upon this motion, which, after some conversation, was withdrawn. Next followed a motion for a Preamble and Order prohibiting both claimants of the seat for Whately from exercising any rights of a member of the House, till their respective claims should have been investigated by a committee. The debate upon this, and upon the point of order respecting its reception, occupied the remainder of another day. The point of order being overruled by a majority of six, and the motion being subsequently adopted by a majority of three, in a vote taken by yeas and nays, the House, after strong opposition to an adjournment, on the part of the hitherto successful party, at length, at half past five o'clock, voted, by a majority of three votes, to adjourn.

On Saturday morning, the House proceeded forthwith to a fourth balloting, in which the two leading candidates of the previous days received respectively 175 and 172 votes, while a new candidate, of the same school in politics as the latter, had three votes, understood to be given by members of the third party. Hereupon, the gentleman who had received the second largest number of votes announced his wish to retire from the contest; and the rival candidate, declining to follow the example, was abandoned by his friends, who at the next balloting threw all their votes but three for another candidate of their own, understood to be acceptable to the *Liberty* party. Against 175 votes, divided in this manner, Mr. Daniel P. King, formerly President of the Senate, the gentleman whose name had first appeared on the fourth balloting, was elected Speaker by a majority of one.

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts is not apt to be composed of disorderly or of timid men; but we doubt whether there was one of them, who did not draw a longer breath and feel an uncomfortable tension of his nerves relax, when he saw the Speaker conducted to the chair, and a functionary armed with the power of the constitution and the laws, installed in authority over those agitated elements.

The House proceeded to attend public worship; but first, on motion of the leader of the opposition, passed unanimously an order, "that the thanks of the House be presented to Luther S. Cushing, Esquire, its clerk, for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the arduous duties which have devolved upon him, during its organization, as its acting presiding officer." Never was such an unusual tribute better deserved.

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Mr. Cushing's perfect familiarity with the rules and principles of proceeding inspired in all parties a perfect confidence, while his calmness and self-possession, his decision and promptness, his mildness, dignity, and quick sense of what was due to all parties, diffused a conciliating influence through the whole circle of the conflict. As presiding officer, his deportment would have been admirable. It was much more so, in the more critical situation which he filled, moderating in an excited assembly of which he was but the servant, himself clothed with none of the high powers to end a strife which belong to the Speaker's office, and the House free even from the restraints of a system of Rules and Orders. It was a merciful Providence, that frustrated the folly which would have put a helpless beginner in that place. The reign of Chaos and old Night would have been but too likely to come back again.

Yet, while so much praise is due to the accomplished acting moderator for the satisfactory result, we are equally bound to congratulate the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on the generally calm and dignified deportment of her Representatives throughout this critical transaction. No one who witnessed the scene, and understood the exciting character of the questions at issue, could doubt, that, in some legislatures of the day, disorder and violence would have had their perfect work before the termination of the controversy. The possession of the government of the Commonwealth till the period of another election was the immediate prize at stake, while the more considerate were still more concerned about the tremendous future consequences of permitting an unlicensed entrance into the legislative halls. There was that warmth in the debates which might have been expected from the occasion, and from the distinguished talent and energy of several of the speakers; heavy personal imputations were made to rest on some of the leaders of one of the parties; yet such was the tone of gravity, dignity, and self-respect that pervaded the body, that any symptom of ungovernable petulance was made to pass off harmless, and the spirit of ruffianism was held in check, as with an iron compression. "The gentleman from Seekonk," said the leader of the opposition, in the innocent fulness of his heart, "had alluded to the proceedings of Congress in a similar case. For his part, he did not wish to have that body referred to for a precedent. Here we settled our difficulties in a sober and decorous manner, and God forbid that this House should ever copy the doings at Washington." God forbid, indeed! And Massachusetts will have to level her schools and her churches first.

In the present publication, Mr. Cushing, has faithfully and fully told the whole story of this movement, except that part of it

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which is as prominent as any in the memory of witnesses, the part relating to his own most intelligent and meritorious services. "The statement of the different questions, the remarks on the forms of proceedings and points of order, and the orders and motions submitted, are all given," says Mr. C., "from my own memoranda and the records and files of the House." The speeches are prepared, with one exception, from reports in the principal newspapers of the day, collected together, and corrected from Mr. Cushing's own notes taken at the time. The work cannot fail to have a permanent value, as the record of a very able assertion and maintenance of the all-important principle, that without legal *primâ facie* evidence of membership, no man may be admitted to take a part in the organization of a legislative body, or is entitled to a place therein, until such time as his claim has been investigated and established according to the forms of parliamentary proceeding. It will be a convenient and useful manual for reference, as often as hereafter any question shall come up touching the difference between a *bonâ fide* representative body and a self-constituted club, assuming to act with its authority and name.

In a Preface, full of choice learning in parliamentary law, Mr. Cushing treats of the forms of returns and admissions to representative assemblies, and expounds the principles and precedents upon which he acted, in declining, while officiating as temporary moderator of the House, to assume prerogatives of its Speaker, as, for instance, the decision of questions of order. The Preface concludes with a course of remark especially worthy of attention in these times of impatient innovation.

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4. — *An Introduction to Geometry, and the Science of Form. Prepared from the most approved Prussian Text-Books.* Boston: James Munroe and Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 159.

The tendency of the youthful mind to observe and study forms is developed by this book. This tendency is the earliest to show itself, and is very active in children of quick intellect. If improved in good time, a child may be easily inducted into a familiarity with the scientific arrangement and nomenclature of forms and solid bodies, and will bring to the study of Geometry, in the higher schools, a complete elementary knowledge of the subjects treated. The usual course of study neglects this invaluable preparation. Geometry is taken up as a science not

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only severe, but comprehensive, when the pupil is too young to appreciate its scope and importance; and he must commence his hard task by loading his memory with definitions. It is a high merit of this "Introduction," that it teaches these definitions in a familiar way, long before they are required as the preliminary steps to abstract study. It also supplies such a rudimentary knowledge of the principles of Geometry, and their application, as lessens, if it does not remove, the difficulties attending the first efforts in theoretical reasoning. We cannot doubt, that the neglect, or rather the want, of such means of initiating a pupil into the science, has turned aside capacities suited to this study.

It would be trifling with our readers, to enlarge here upon the importance of Geometry as a branch of education. Neither is there any occasion to dwell upon the great help supplied by the use of solid figures. The "Introduction" begins with the simplest mode of teaching with tangible objects, in which common ideas are combined and classified, rather than new ones given. The child arrives at a definition by merely learning to distinguish previously acquired notions. From this humble beginning, the path to such proficiency as is required of candidates for admission to Harvard University is gradual, easy, and without any *pons asinorum* to abridge the progress of the pupil. The first lesson is a reply to the question, "What do you remark in this cube?" — the solid model being shown to the learner. The latter part of the book is devoted to miscellaneous propositions in mensuration and proportions. The former subject is not beyond the powers of a child six years old; whilst the scientific engineer may bring the latter into his daily practice. Yet the ascent is so easy, that a child of ordinary ability is in no danger of being fatigued.

It will be inferred from what has been said, that this work is practical. Its propositions are of the nature of problems, which most readily win the attention and engage the curiosity of the beginner, who, whilst amusing himself with toys, or the drawing-pencil, is imbibing, in a pleasing and insensible way, the fundamental truths of that science which embraces the mechanism of the heavens. This merit of the work will be appreciated, when it is considered how difficult it is to impress upon the juvenile mind its first abstract ideas. Not only are the senses and the perceptive faculties first developed, but they have attained a high degree of skill and accuracy, before the intellect is prepared to deal with its own materials.

The object of the "Introduction," which it is eminently suited to attain, is, to "help children to arrange what nature teach-

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es." * And thus, when the pupil in more advanced life is taught the science in its strictly logical form, his mind being stored with these useful definitions, distinctions, and relations, "he must not only hear with pleased wonder, but grasp the truth, reflect on it, and apply it." †

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5. — *Guide for Writing Latin; consisting of Rules and Examples for Practice.* By JOHN P. KREBS. From the German, by S. H. TAYLOR, Principal of Phillips Academy. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1843. 12mo. pp. 479.

WE look upon the publication of Mr. Taylor's "Guide for Writing Latin" as an important contribution to the means of obtaining a more thorough and complete classical education in this country. The aids for our young students in acquiring such a knowledge and command of the Latin language as to be able to write it with correctness and ease have, hitherto, been few and insufficient. Neither the books used nor the method of instruction have generally been calculated to accomplish the object. The young American scholar, moreover, is without that stimulus which operates strongly in Europe, — the circumstance, that Latin, though no longer the means of communication between diplomatists and politicians, is still the peculiar language of those who have received an academic education. It is there presumed, that every one who has enjoyed this advantage is able to communicate his thoughts in Latin, whether by word of mouth or in writing. Hence every one who intends to maintain a respectable place in the republic of letters endeavours to qualify himself in this respect. This state of things operates on even the elementary schools. The acquisition of a sufficient command of the language is considered as something not merely possible, but necessary.

With us it is otherwise. The occasions for using the Latin language, either orally or in writing, are few, and are known to be few; and the productions called forth by these occasions are generally labored and far from successful. Being thus deprived of the motive by which the young European is impelled to greater exertion in this field, it becomes incumbent upon us to supply the deficiency by redoubled zeal and attention, at school and in college, and by appropriating to our use such aids as other countries afford, or by creating them among ourselves.

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* *Theory of Teaching*, p. 87. † Ibid., p. 96.

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Books designed to afford assistance in writing Latin are, even in Europe, of comparatively modern origin. The task of acquiring a correct style was formerly left, in a great degree, to the exertions of the individual. The situation of the young scholar in this respect was very much like that of a person arriving in a foreign country without a knowledge of its language. Necessity forced him to acquire the accomplishment of writing and speaking Latin as best he might. We do not mean to say, that the schools furnished no assistance whatever; but the assistance given was practical more than theoretical, casual rather than systematic. As the art of instruction advanced, this branch was not overlooked. It was perceived, that, by the aid of system and method, the same amount of knowledge and practical skill might be gained in a more expeditious, and at the same time, more complete manner.

The earliest productions, intended to aid in the formation of a good Latin style, were either deficient in systematic completeness, or designed for the more advanced stages of the art, leaving the elementary stages to the former imperfect mode of instruction. Laurentius Valla may be considered as the founder of this branch of instruction. As early as the fifteenth century, he endeavoured to facilitate the acquisition of a correct Latin style, by the publication of his work: "*De Linguæ Latinæ Elegantiis Libri sex.*" The book, rich in clever remarks on grammatical points, synonyms, and phraseology, is deficient in method. After him, Erasmus, H. Stephanus, G. J. Voss, and many others, furnished contributions in the same department, without doing more to systematize the materials.

The first attempt at a *systematic* instruction was made in 1671, by J. Stark, in his "*Institutio philologica et rhetorica de Stilo*," but with little success. Far superior was the work of J. L. Prasche, "*Rosetum sive Præcepta Stili Latini*," published in 1676. Of the many who succeeded Prasche, we will mention a few only: J. G. Heineccius, in 1720, C. H. Weiss, in 1724, J. G. Scheller, in 1770, C. D. Beck, in 1801. The work of F. W. Doering has been of great service in Germany; for, though imperfect and incorrect in particulars, it pursued the right course. This accounts for the fact, that the work, the first edition of which appeared in 1801, has gone through at least eleven editions, and still maintains its place in many schools in Germany, notwithstanding the great number of books, in many respects far superior, which have appeared within the last twenty years in that country. Among these the work of Krebs, of which Mr. Taylor has now given us a translation, is distinguished for its excellence.

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The translation of Mr. Taylor is executed with great care and correctness, evincing everywhere the judgment and experience of a *practical* instructer. We make this statement of our opinion after a careful perusal of the whole work. The judgment and learning of the translator appear especially in those portions of the book, which had necessarily to undergo some change, in consequence of the different positions of the English and the German student as regards translating into Latin. Thus, for example, the English scholar easily comprehends the Latin construction of the ablative absolute, his own language making a similar use of the participle, while it is altogether unknown to the German language; on the other hand, the German finds little difficulty in mastering the rules concerning the *oratio obliqua.* The changes, both by omission and addition, show that Mr. Taylor has fully comprehended the object of the book and the intention of its author; they are such as the author would himself have made, if he had prepared the work for English instead of German students.

Having received this valuable addition to our stock of school-books, we hope ere long to see some such work as that of Zumpt,* or Weber,† and a translation of the work of Grysar, or the still better one of Hand, on Latin style. For, after having attained some expertness in the application of the several rules of grammatical syntax in single sentences, the next step is to practise in translating continuous pieces. Exercises of this kind are indispensable for obtaining a familiarity with the Latin mode of combining sentences into periods, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the language. After these preparatory exercises, the student is prepared to enter upon free composition, at first, in prose, and later, if aided by poetic talent, in verse.

The question has been, and is still asked, What is the use of writing Latin? Without entering at present upon a discussion of this interesting and important subject, we will confine ourselves to one remark. Of the many reasons which have been adduced by the friends of the ancient languages in favor of the practice of writing them, most, perhaps, may be successfully controverted except this; that, without writing, a thorough insight into the structure, and a complete appreciation of the spirit of the language is impossible, and consequently the acquisition of the language is incomplete.

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* *Aufgaben zum Uebersetzen aus dem Deutschen ins Lateinische aus den besten neuern Lateinischen Schriftstellern gezogen.*

† *Uebersetzungsschule für den Lateinischen Stil.*

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NOTE

TO ARTICLE IX. OF NUMBER 121.

We have received from Dr. Olin the following letter, in reply to the article in which his "Travels" were reviewed in our last Number.

"*To the Editor of the N. A. Review.*

"Dear Sir,

"The brevity prescribed to this note so greatly enhances the difficulty of proving a negative, — the task imposed on me by the criticism on my 'Travels' contained in your last Number, — that I shall attempt little more than to offer a full and unqualified denial of the charge of plagiarism and injustice towards Dr. Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' preferred against me in that article.

"Dr. Robinson was in Jerusalem in 1838. I was there two years later, in 1840. The 'Researches' were published in 1841. I saw them, for the first time, in January or February of 1842, when a large portion of my 'Travels' was ready for the press. Up to that time, I was entirely ignorant of their contents, the state of my health having compelled me to seclude myself from society, as well as from all intercourse with books and periodicals, during the fifteen months preceding November, 1841. I learned from Mr. Wheaton, in Berlin, in 1839, that Dr. Robinson had published a synopsis of the principal matters of the large work then in preparation; but neither he, nor Dr. Robinson himself, to whom I subsequently applied, could furnish me with a copy. To this moment, I am wholly uninformed as to the contents of that pamphlet. It was once handed to me by a fellow traveller, but under circumstances which compelled me to return it unread.

"A great part of my 'Travels' was written out, as they now appear, amid the scenes which they describe. The remainder, except when the contrary is avowed or manifest, was composed from full notes and observations always recorded on the spot. The numerous coincidences between Dr. Robinson's volumes and mine are only such as are natural or accidental, when writers, with similar ends in view, and the same guide-books in their hands, describe precisely the same objects, and derive the information generally from the same sources, — whether from natives, or resident foreigners, or prevalent traditions.

"I will now briefly notice the Reviewer's specifications, beginning with Mt. Sinai. I am charged with having adopted Dr. Robinson's arguments against the monkish Sinai, and in favor of

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the true, and withholding all acknowledgment of his claims as the original discoverer of the holy mount. My account of Mt. Sinai, including these arguments, was written out in the convent of St. Catherine, nearly two years before I had any knowledge, that Dr. Robinson had argued the question at all. My subsequent perusal of the 'Researches' was so hasty as to leave on my mind no recollection of any claim to original discoveries in this region. The situation of the plain of the encampment, on which the whole argument turns, was described by Carne, Laborde, and Lord Lindsay, who preceded Dr. Robinson as well as me. Lord Lindsay's argument against the monkish Sinai, which was shown me at the convent by Mr. Humphrey of Boston, is substantially the same as mine, alleged to be a literal copy of Dr. Robinson's. He discusses at length the respective claims of Jebel Mennagia and the monkish Sinai to be the true Sinai, deciding in favor of the former, for reasons which seemed to me far more applicable to Jebel Shereyk, the Sooksafa of Dr. Robinson. The situation of this mountain, and the arguments, were forced upon my attention by the perusal of Lord Lindsay's book. I had heard from an Austrian gentleman, that Dr. Robinson believed Sooksafa to be the real Sinai, without one word as to its situation or the grounds of that belief; but I was unable to find any person who had heard of such a mountain; and it was not until two days after my own observations and Lord Lindsay's had satisfied my mind with regard to the subject, that I was told by the gentleman referred to, that a Bedouin boy had professed to know the Shereyk of Lord Lindsay by the name of Sooksafa. My account of Mt. Sinai is no more indebted to Dr. Robinson's, than his is to mine.

"I am next charged with doing injustice to Dr. Robinson's claims to the discovery of the true character of the arch of the bridge which connected the Temple with Mt. Zion, 'a discovery uniformly ascribed to him in Jerusalem both by residents and travellers.' I stated, on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, the English missionary, that 'its existence has long been known to European and other residents and travellers,' and that Mr. Catherwood recognized it seven years before. Mr. Nicolayson was my guide to this monument, and I recorded his statement and my own measurement at the time. I now declare, that I never saw or heard the name of Dr. Robinson connected with this subject in Jerusalem or elsewhere, until I read the 'Researches' nearly two years after my visit. Having no reason to distrust my own information, I of course presumed Dr. Robinson was in an error in regarding himself as the original discoverer. Mr. Catherwood, who is a professional architect, and the author of Dr. Robinson's plan of Jerusalem, as

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well as the one always in my hand, in which he had laid down the Temple, Mt. Zion, and the valley between them, across which the arch looks directly, could hardly have doubted or been mistaken with regard to its design. Mr. Catherwood has often told me since, that my account is strictly true, and that he, as well as several other gentlemen with whom he conversed in Jerusalem, regarded and spoke of this monument as the remains of an ancient bridge, that connected the Jewish Temple with Mt. Zion. My declaration, that I could not learn that this monument had been mentioned by any modern traveller, appears under date of April 23d, 1840, and is strictly true. I should have referred to Dr. Robinson's account, which I saw nearly two years afterwards, but for the discrepancy between it and mine, to which, for insufficient reasons it may be, but assuredly not from selfish ends, nor from any unfriendly feelings towards Dr. Robinson, I did not wish to attract attention.

"In my description of the Dead Sea, I borrowed nothing from the 'Researches.' I might have given Dr. Robinson's valuable account instead of my own, derived from personal observations and inquiries, and from later travellers; and so I might have done, no doubt, to the advantage of my readers, with regard to many other objects. I professedly gave the dimensions of that sea as a conjecture merely, after repeating many discordant and irreconcilable accounts. Had I observed the alleged agreement of my statement with Dr. Robinson's estimate, I suppose I should have avoided the appearance of plagiarism by giving a different number, which would have satisfied my guess about as well. I read this portion of the 'Researches' without perceiving, that Dr. Robinson's account claims, and no doubt with a measure of justice, to rest on scientific *data*. I had noted one trigonometrical observation, which seemed to me not to be very satisfactory.

"With regard to the Tower of David, which I saw on my first entrance into Jerusalem, and very frequently afterwards, it being one of the most conspicuous objects in the holy city, my 'Travels' contain the results of my own observations, and of my frequent conversations with Mr. Nicolayson and others, from whom I learned, that the monument was usually held to be the Hippicus of Josephus, whose account I also consulted. It is a question again, whether I should have substituted for my own, Dr. Robinson's account, to which mine owes nothing.

"My statement and conjectures about the pool of Bethesda are also objected to, not as being false, but as concurring with Dr. Robinson. A careful perusal of what I wrote on this doubtful topic will show, that I expressed no opinion of my own, but only recounted several contradictory opinions, traditions, and facts, not

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one of which was derived from Dr. Robinson, without attempting to reconcile them.

"I erroneously referred to Pococke as my authority for what I understood to be an old tradition, as well as a prevalent opinion at Jerusalem, in regard to the subterranean connexion between the fountains concealed by Hezekiah and those of the Virgin and Siloam. I should have quoted Richardson, who says, that the pool called the fountain of the Stairs, — the fountain of the Virgin, as I understood the passage, — 'receives a strong current of water by a subterraneous passage, cut in the north side of Mount Zion, which seems as if it came by a conduit cut through the rock, from the pool of Hezekiah, on the west side of the city.' This statement, which I had in my hand, taken in connexion with what was told me by Mr. Lanneau and others, as reported in my 'Travels,' and the Scriptural accounts, which I also carefully consulted on the spot, was the basis, and is indeed the substance, of the opinions and conjectures which I ventured to offer to my readers on this point.

"I will only add, with regard to the several topics selected by the Reviewer for animadversion, that I have not knowingly derived either facts, arguments, or opinions from Dr. Robinson. What his views were on these points I had never an intimation, until I read the 'Researches' in 1842. I have not since referred to that able and learned work; but I had not supposed, that it laid claim to original discovery in connexion with these topics, except in the case of the ancient arch. My companions in the Desert and in Palestine, I think, would all certify, that I worked hard and examined every thing for myself. Every attentive reader will perceive, that I take all proper occasions to do justice to Dr. Robinson's excellent volumes. I certainly have seen no reasons for changing my opinions about the identity of the Holy Sepulchre; but my language on that subject was unguarded, if it led the Reviewer to think, that it was from superstitious reverence, 'I stood on my knees and had a taper in my hand,' in examining the place of the Cross. The room was dark, and this, or some more lowly, attitude was necessary for the attainment of my object. "STEPHEN OLIN.

"November 30th, 1843."

We are quite willing to place Dr. Olin's statement before our readers, leaving it for them to judge, after comparing those passages from the two works to which reference was made in our article, how far the explanation is a satisfactory one. We have no room for any other remarks at this time, but as there are some points in Dr. Olin's letter which require more particular comment, it is possible that we may return to the subject in another Number.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

The American Agriculturist's Almanac for 1844. By A. B. Allen, Editor of "The American Agriculturist." New York: J. Winchester. 8vo. pp. 62.

The Farmer's Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Rural Affairs. By Cuthbert W. Johnson, Esq., F. R. S. Adapted to the United States, by Gouverneur Emerson. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. 1165.

The Cultivator's Almanac, or Rural Calendar for the Year 1844. By Willis Gaylord and Luther Tucker. New York: M. H. Newman. 12mo. pp. 32.

ANNUALS.

The Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present. M DCCC XLIV. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. 296.

The New York State Register, for 1843. Containing an Almanac, Civil Divisions, and Census of the State, with Political, Statistical, and other Information. Edited by O. L. Holley. Albany: J. Disturnell. 12mo. pp. 432.

The American Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1844. Boston: David H. Williams. 12mo. pp. 342.

The United States Almanac; or Complete Ephemeris, for the Year 1844. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler. 12mo. pp. 316.

Statistical Almanac for the Year 1844, by Edward Delius. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 32mo. pp. 240.

Friendship's Offering, and Winter's Wreath. A Christmas and New Year's Present for M DCCC XLIV. Boston: Lewis & Sampson. 12mo. pp. 320.

The Drawing Room Annual; a Present for all Seasons. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 4to. pp. 64.

The Rose: or Affection's Gift for 1844. Edited by Emily Marshall. Illustrated with ten highly finished Steel Engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 256.

The Opal; a Pure Gift for the Holydays. Edited by N. P. Willis. With nine Illustrations, by J. G. Chapman. New York: John C. Riker. 12mo. pp. 264.

Diary for 1844; or Daily Register, for the Use of Private Families, and Persons of Business. Harrisburg, Pa.: Hickok & Cantine. 12mo. pp. 142.

The Literary Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present for

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1844. With ten Engravings. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 252.

The Annualette. A Christmas and New Year's Gift for 1844. Edited by a Lady. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 12mo. pp. 142.

The Boy's and Girl's Annual; a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1844. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 12mo. pp. 160.

Youth's Keepsake, and Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 12mo. pp. 206.

The Little Keepsake, for 1844. Edited by Mrs. S. Colman. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 24mo. pp. 107.

The Little Gift, for 1844. Edited by Mrs. S. Colman. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 24mo. pp. 107.

The Rose of Sharon; a Religious Souvenir, for M DCCC XLIV. Edited by Miss Sarah C. Edgarton. Boston: A. Tompkins & B. B. Mussey. 12mo. pp. 304.

BIOGRAPHY.

A Biographical Sketch of Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky. By a Kentuckian. New York: Saxton & Miles. 8vo. pp. 46.

Memoir of Mrs Anna Maria Morrison, of the North India Mission. By E. J. Richards. New York: M. W. Dodd. 12mo. pp. 176.

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somely executed volume now before us, Count de Laporte, a successful teacher in Boston, has endeavoured to supply this want, and, so far as we have had opportunity to examine the work, it appears to be executed with great care, judgment, and fidelity. The difficult subjects of the proper use of prepositions, and the regimen of verbs, are treated at great length, and in a very lucid and satisfactory manner. Examples are spread upon the page in great abundance, taken mostly from authors in high repute, and the minute and critical examination of them, though better adapted, perhaps, for a French treatise upon rhetoric, than for a manual to be used by foreigners in the acquisition of the language, is well calculated to give precision to the ideas of the student, and to impart some valuable information respecting the philosophy of language in general. But little is said on the subject of pronunciation, for the very satisfactory reason mentioned in the Preface, that if the pupil has a teacher, he will learn it by the ear; if he has not, the attempt to gain any correct knowledge of the peculiarities of French as a spoken language is hopeless. The Syntax is not treated separately in this grammar, the rules for the syntactical arrangement and construction of words being presented in connexion with what is said on the use of the different parts of speech. This is an innovation on the common method, but we are inclined to think that it is a judicious one. The volume contains no exercises for writing French, being already of great size without the introduction of such matter; but the author mentions his intention to publish another work, which will supply this deficiency.

We commend the book to the attention both of pupils and instructers in French, as we believe there are few among them who will not be benefited by the attentive perusal of it.

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